EAST STROUDSBURG STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 113, NO. 22 NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1945 NUMBER 1617

Sixty Days to War or Peace!

THE THREE-POWER CONFERENCE on atomic energy was called to unite the peoples of Canada, Britain and the United States on a program of action to end the crisis that our possession of the atomic bomb has created. We are still troubled and divided.

Secretary Byrnes has said of the conference: "The civilized world cannot survive an atomic war—we must not imagine that overnight there can arise full-grown a world government wise and strong enough to protect all of us, and tolerant and democratic enough to command our willing loyalty. If we are to preserve the continuity of civilized life, we must work with the materials at hand, improving and adding to existing institutions until they can meet the stern test of our time. . . . Accordingly . . . the partners in the historic scientific and engineering undertaking that resulted in the release of atomic energy—have undertaken the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate armament race."

Was the step we took a step toward peace or war?

Secretary Byrnes was entirely right in speaking of the necessity of working with the materials at hand. If we and the Soviet Union had chosen to fight a United Nations war, we should now be living in a United Nations world, working with the materials of world organization. We chose instead to fight separately and independently. We created a working government of America and the British Commonwealth, and this working government produced the atom bomb.

Because we fought as Anglo-Americans, the Stalin-Roosevelt-Churchill conferences were preceded in each instance in wartime by Anglo-American conferences to prepare agendas and areas of agreement for the larger task. In peacetime, with the dissolution of our combined machinery, and the creation of the Security Council, this preliminary conference may take the form of an alliance within the world organization, which, long ago, Woodrow Wilson realized might be fatal. But in these months, before the UNO starts functioning, a conference of Britain, Canada and the United States was necessary, as a preliminary to a larger meeting. It should have been held before the bomb was dropped, on August 6. It was terribly late, on November 18.

The aims of the Truman-Attlee-King conference have been attacked. In the light of the British proposals, outlined in a press conference of November 12, there were reasons for this attack. Against the advice of most British nuclear scientists and, presumably, at the insistence of Ernest Bevin and the Foreign Office, Prime Minister Attlee tied admirable proposals for the future uses of atomic energy to territorial issues that were irrelevant and thoroughly dangerous. The Soviet

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1945, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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government was entirely justified in condemning these proposals as "atomic diplomacy."

The conference achieved a great deal when it threw these proposals out. It also redirected American policy. Before the conference, the American program for the control of atomic energy was the policy of the "Sacred Trust." This policy was clearly absurd, since America alone has used atomic energy to destroy life.

As a result of the conference, we are now committed to these actions:

The exchange of basic scientific information on atomic energy.

The control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes.

The elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons, and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction.

The safeguarding of this program by inspection "and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions."

As a statement of purposes this program is a tremendous advance for the United States, and for Britain. The heart of the program is the proposal for inspection. Inspection is essential to control; it means the definite abrogation of sovereign rights. The British proposals brushed aside inspection as impracticable. But British and American scientists believe that inspection is practicable if the will to make it so exists in peoples. The endorsement of the principle of inspection in the declaration is a conditional triumph for American public opinion. The acceptance of the principle of further measures of control is a greater conditional triumph—since this must mean a United Nations armed force. Both triumphs are conditional because both measures require the acceptance of the Soviet Union and all of the United Nations if they are to lead to peace.

If the aims of the declaration are constructive, the method of presentation was not altogether fortunate; a Soviet spokesman in London described them as "criminal." Under the guidance of President Roosevelt, the conferences of Cairo and Quebec ended in short statements giving no commitments, assuming no role of unilateral leadership, laying down no plans for Russia to accept or refuse. When, in the three-power declaration, we took the exact opposite course, for no apparent reason but to appease public opinion, peace was gravely threatened.

There is only one way to restore the basis for combined action that the declaration has obviously undermined: Prepare, at once, a conference with the Soviet Union, leading to a further meeting of the Security Council, at which counter-proposals to our own may be discussed, and a plan proposed, based on common agreement.

The timing of our actions is all-important. We have refused to share our knowledge of atomic energy until "enforceable safeguards, acceptable to all nations," are established. If Britain, Canada and America have taken four months to agree to this much, then how long will it take for "all nations" to agree to much more? Every day, the absence of agreement advances the atomic-arms race and the threat of war.

If the declaration is to be the starting point of new world action, then it may be a great stroke for peace. If it is to be a means of postponing world action, while we produce more bombs, it may be a stroke for war. *The declaration itself contains no timetable.* But Secretary Byrnes states that the atomic-control commission can be set up within sixty days.

Britain, Canada and America have blundered in their method of dealing with other nations. But we have offered the basis for peace. Let us hope that the other nations achieve greatness in keeping the end before them. If on January 17, 1946, there is no commission, it must not be because we cannot sustain the greatness that has been thrust upon us.

Interim Policy for Palestine

THE UNITED STATES and Great Britain have decided to set up a joint Committee of Inquiry to look into the Palestine question, with the immediate aim of making this British mandate a trusteeship of the United Nations, and with the eventual aim of making it a self-governing Palestinian state, which will be neither exclusively Jewish nor exclusively Arab. In spite of the great amount of abuse heaped upon this plan by Zionists and Arab nationalists alike, it contains a potentially more satisfactory solution than either of these partisan groups is willing to admit.

As we pointed out in a previous editorial (the *New Republic*, November 12), neither the British, the Jews nor the Arabs are strong enough to force a solution to their particular liking. This the Labor government has recognized and, in associating this country with its own responsibility, has frankly admitted Britain's inability to settle the Palestine issue by force, a solution which a Tory government might have been expected to favor. The Labor government's imperial inheritance is not a light burden, and its decision to give up the exclusive British mandate in favor of a United Nations trusteeship is certainly a step in the right direction, one which might be followed with advantage by the Dutch in Indonesia or the French in Annam.

Had the British government, through Mr. Bevin, declared itself ready to allow unrestricted immigration of Europe's dispossessed and starving Jews into Palestine, there could have been little ground for opposition to its political plan. Even though the transfer of Europe's surviving Jews is a matter of years rather than, as Zionist propaganda has it, of months, a dec-

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laration in favor of unrestricted immigration for the strictly humanitarian purpose of saving as many Jews as possible would have lifted the Palestinian issue out of the moral morass in which it has sunk in the last few years.

It is equally true, however, that the new policy has abandoned the White Paper of 1939. Under it, immigration of 1,500 Jews per month would have stopped this year, and self-government would have had to be introduced. Under the new policy, Jewish immigration will continue at the present monthly rate, and self-government at this time is not envisaged. In other words, while the immediate humanitarian problem of bringing a maximum number of Jews to Palestine *now* has again been evaded, the new policy is on the whole favorable to the Jews as far as the politics of the Palestinian question is concerned. And Arab opposition to the Anglo-American plan springs primarily from this reopening of the political issue. Under the White Paper the Arabs, being in the majority, could have imposed their will on the Jews if self-government had been introduced. This will no longer be possible, at least not in the immediate future.

But more is involved in the new policy. Mr. Bevin's statement in this respect was candid, and it seems precisely this candor which nauseated Zionist spokesmen. For Mr. Bevin made it clear that while migration of peoples is one way to settle minority problems, it is not the *only* solution and not necessarily the best one. In the first place, he pointed out, not only the Jews, but persons of many races, have suffered from Nazi persecution. Second, Jews who do not want to go to Palestine should be permitted to live again in Europe without discrimination. In other words, Bevin declared himself in favor of solving the "Jewish question" in terms of the great constitutional tradition of Anglo-American civil rights rather than in terms of a Zionist-Jewish racist nationalism.

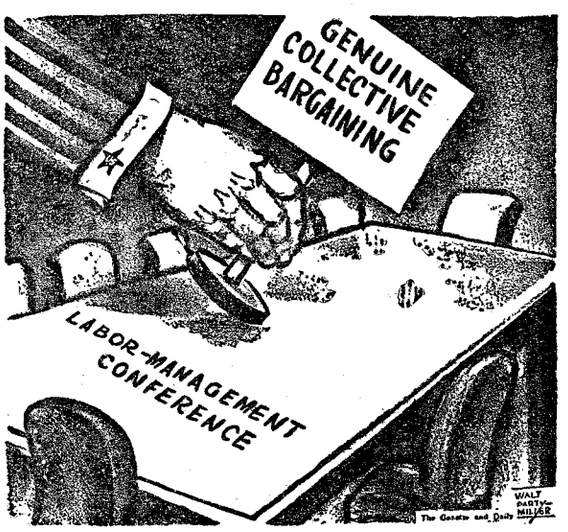
Third, Mr. Bevin gave as frank an account of the power politics of the Palestine question as can be expected from His Majesty's Foreign Secretary. Britain is obviously interested in maintaining as close ties as possible with all the Middle Eastern countries, including Palestine. To judge from Mr. Bevin's statement, the Labor government is apparently not interested in maintaining these ties by a "divide-and-rule" policy. He repeatedly deplored the fact that it has been impossible to find common ground between Arabs and Jews, and that any arrangement acceptable to one party has been rejected as unacceptable to the other. His request that both Jews and Arabs should refrain from further complicating the situation by continuing their intransigent attitude deserves our wholehearted support. For, as he pointed out, "considerations not only of equity and of humanity, but also of international amity and world peace, are thus involved in any search for a solution."

What Do Employers Want?

THE United Automobile Workers maintain that General Motors can grant a 30-percent increase in wage rates without raising the prices of cars. General Motors denies it, but refuses to substantiate its argument by laying on the table figures of costs and profits. Profits, declare the company spokesmen, are its own business and have nothing to do with the case. Past profits do not indicate future ability to pay. Anyway, according to the company, wages should not depend upon the size of the profit. Even stockholders, it says, are not informed in detail about its profits.

This attitude is the traditional one for executives of private enterprises. They believe they have a right to make as much as they can, after paying as little as they can induce sellers of materials and labor to accept. To reveal their figures might give advantage to competitors and increase the claims upon them. Some enlightened employers, of course, have progressed far beyond these views.

The General Motors position is stubbornly obstructive to the wage and price policy adopted by the government in the interest of the entire economy, as declared by President Truman. Nobody who thinks a moment can deny that it is essential that wages on the average be as high as possible, consistent with incentives for capital adequate to maintain and increase production, and without increases in selling prices. But how is anyone to tell how high that is, unless profit margins are known? Must we leave the decision wholly to the interested and secretly calculated judgments of separate employers? The OPA, which has set prices for General Motors cars slightly below the 1942 level, after inspecting figures submitted by the company, apparently is not fearful that it will operate at a loss. Figures released by Secretary Wallace indicate that the automobile industry could make substantial wage increases without raising prices.



Walt Partymiller in the York, Pa., Gazette and Daily

Reminder from the People

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U. S. Steel adopts a somewhat different position. It declares that no wage increase can be granted in steel unless the OPA allows further increases in steel prices. Steel is now being made and sold, it declares, at a loss. Therefore it declines to attend further collective-bargaining conferences. This position concedes the relevance of profits to wages, but opposes the contention that wages can be increased without increasing prices. Must we allow the employer to be the final judge of this question also?

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, attempted to put the management-labor conference in Washington on record in support of the President's wage-price policy. In this he was opposed by John L. Lewis and the AFL. Mr. Lewis is not noted for the breadth of his social vision. He declared that he believed in private enterprise; in consequence, prices should be left to market forces and the decisions of employers. Wages should be set by collective bargaining. This means, in plain language, that Mr. Lewis is perfectly willing to get higher wages by increases in the price of coal, and is unconcerned about the size of profits. Mr. Lewis' habit of getting all the advantages he can for the United Mine Workers—and for himself as one who wields power—no matter what happens to anyone else, is a good working formula for a fighting union leader. It is not a good formula for the workers themselves, either as consumers or as seekers of employment. And, of course, it ignores the national interest.

Chrysler wants to abolish the impartial machinery for dealing with disputes in its plants, and resists the union's wage demands. Ford announces that it has had an "unhappy experience" with collective bargaining, wants security against work stoppages, and no wage increases at this time. It says it intends, apparently on its own initiative, to maintain its reputation for paying the highest wages in the industry when the time is ripe. Whatever the justice behind these positions, they sound in effect as if the companies were challenging the unions to strike for the wages to which the workers believe themselves entitled.

The employer representatives in the Washington conference have not, at this writing, gone on record either on the government's wage-price policy or on the means of settling industrial disputes. It is as plain as an Arizona noon that unless they support the President and use their utmost energy to preserve industrial peace, there are going to be serious interruptions of production at a time when both the United States and the world urgently need a rapid increase in output.

If the employers—with the aid of John L. Lewis and President Green of the AFL—are willing to inflict this damage on the national economy, they may have what they regard as good reasons for doing so. Their immense accumulated war savings will finance months of idleness. The "carry-back" provisions of the excess-profits tax mean that they will be paid out of the national Treasury for losses in the reconversion period, even though these losses are caused by strikes. They can blame labor for the interruption of production and all its consequences because, on the surface, labor appears to be the aggressor.

They may believe that they can win, since their financial backlog is greater than labor's, and unemployment is increasing; estimates place it at eight million this spring. By such a means the unions might be put in their places, wages might be held down, and the government might be induced to abolish price ceilings. Labor would be not only the victim, but also the scapegoat. In the general turmoil, Lewis and the AFL would be rewarded for their aid by the opportunity to weaken and raid some of the strongest CIO unions.

Before long we shall know whether this is what the employers want. They can probably have it if they do. But it would be a risky business. They might conceivably lose. A victory would be, in the long run, even more costly than defeat. Labor, frustrated in the field of collective bargaining, usually turns all the more vigorously to political action. Workers are not likely in that event to have as strong an affection for the "private-enterprise system" as union leaders have lately been expressing. And victory on these terms would ensure the ultimate arrival of a depression which might give the opponents of that system a popular mandate to end it.

GI Graduate Students

As we recently pointed out, the GI Bill of Rights does not give enough money to veterans who want to continue their education. This is particularly true of graduate students who want to work for advanced degrees. Many of these men are married and find that the $75-a-month living allowance for those with dependents is entirely inadequate.

These graduate students are distinctly in the minority among the groups eligible to return to college for extended study at government expense (up to $500 a year contributed toward tuition and textbooks, as well as the allowance). Those who were more than 24 at the time they went into service will not be permitted more than the year's "refresher" course all veterans are entitled to, although anyone above that age-limit whose studies were actually interrupted by enlistment may continue for as many months as he served in the armed forces. In spite of its smaller total number, the graduate group should send more students, proportionately, to the campus than any other, for its members had shown their professional interest in education before going into the service.

Yet the tendency among this group is away from the universities. The reluctance of its members to return to the campus on a shoestring basis cannot be

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judged by prewar standards and conditions. Many of them are now in their thirties. Normally, they would have been Ph.D.'s with jobs by this time. Instead, having given these years to their country, they still have to undergo the difficult apprenticeship of the professional man.

This is not purely a matter of personal rights. If these graduate students are not encouraged to return to school, not only the universities but our entire national life will suffer. People who elect to study for advanced degrees are doing more than fulfilling individual needs; they are serving the community in many important ways. The abrupt ending of the war demonstrated how valuable trained scientists are: at the moment they seem to have made the soldier obsolete except as an occupational policeman. Moreover, if life on this planet is to be given new values, rich and meaningful, that will show us what this life can stand for in contrast to the destruction that threatens it, it is high time for humanity to become better acquainted with the humanities.

The people whose mission it is to bring this to pass are the educators. They are dedicated men and women, and do not expect great material wealth. In former years, many of them were willing to endure a garret existence while getting their degrees, sometimes helped along by a fellowship or a part-time instructorship. Some will do likewise in the future, gladly learning and gladly teaching. But they are not the norm.

The others who will reject this monkish period of sacrifice have not lost their sense of dedication and their love of knowledge. On the contrary, the harsh years in the Army or Navy have intensified for many their love of scholarly seclusion. But those harsh years will have taught some lessons of their own: these former students have discovered that they are more versatile than they suspected. They can step into occupations which do not require a long apprenticeship and will at once begin to pay much better than teaching ever would. Men with wives and children will be particularly tempted: on all sides they now see men with whom they have been working in the services going into high-paid jobs. When they receive similar offers, it will be hard to refuse them.

Our national life may not have the benefit, at the highest level of their potentiality, of many such men and women. To get them back to the campuses, where they belong, it will be necessary to raise the subsistence allowances under the GI Bill of Rights. And they will have to be raised considerably. This is a serious problem and it requires a serious solution. Consider a husband, wife and child trying to live on $75 a month: at an extreme low, rent alone would be at least $25, and the most meager budget would have to allow $40 or more for food. How could the remainder take care of heat, electricity, insurance, clothes and doctor's bills?

The answer is that full-time graduate students with dependents should receive from $125 to $150 a month. These sums are not opulent—they are a necessary minimum. Failure to grant them will show that the experience of the war has not given us, as a people, a true sense of values.

Dilemma in France

General de Gaulle has not found it easy to bring about a coalition government of the three major parties in France—the Communists, the Socialists and the Catholic MRP. The Communists insisted on one of the three major posts in the Cabinet—Foreign Affairs, War or Interior. According to Parliamentary tradition, they are entitled to such a post, since numerically they are the strongest party. But de Gaulle feared to make the appointment because of international tension. This means, of course, that he, like almost everyone else, believes Communist policy will be dictated by the interest of Russia rather than by that of France.

The dilemma may be resolved by a coalition of the Socialists and the MRP under de Gaulle, leaving the Communists in the opposition, or by a coalition of the Socialists and Communists under some other leader. But whatever the outcome, the incident is an illustration of the illogical situation in which supporters of Western political democracy may find themselves so long as a complete understanding does not exist with the Soviet Union. To deny the party having the largest vote a corresponding representation in the Cabinet is surely a break with democratic tradition. If Communist policy is internationally determined, something like the same charge may be made against Socialist or Catholic policy. Still we object when governments in Eastern Europe do not give representation to non-Communist Parties commensurate with their voting strength. Perhaps it would be more far-sighted if de Gaulle's stand should be reversed, and the electorate allowed to be the final judge of Communist policy.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

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Slowdown in Congress

by Helen Fuller

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S first Congress is preparing to adjourn. The record it has made and the direction it has taken merit close inspection, for the elections of 1946 and 1948 and the future role of Congress itself may be determined by these facts.

The Seventy-ninth Congress is being widely criticized as a "do-nothing" Congress, and President Truman is being attacked for failing to make it function properly. But not much energy has been expended on analyzing the deeper reasons for its behavior and doing something about it.

When Truman took office, a large part of Congress looked forward to a period of increased power and "independence" for Congress, a great relaxation of the Administration's reins. It had yelled for twelve years about dictation from the "bureaucrats" and had constantly charged that the legislative branch was being swallowed up by the executive branch under Roosevelt. It expected Harry Truman, as one of the boys, to restore its right to leadership. These men would not deny the truth of Woodrow Wilson's statement that "A member of long standing in the Senate feels that he is the professional, the President an amateur."

Truman's first actions indicated that he intended to make Congress a full partner in his policy-making. He lunched with his old friends on the Hill. He welcomed them to his office and entertained them in the White House. The new working arrangement between President and Congress seemed to operate smoothly through the spring and early summer. The remainder of Roosevelt's international program passed with a minimum of opposition.

But when it came to the domestic items remaining in Roosevelt's program for reconversion, the Truman touch began to falter. Congress refused to be serious about job insurance, full employment, minimum-wage increases, agricultural and housing legislation. When it insisted on taking a vacation at the end of July, the Administration made no protest beyond a sharp scolding by Senate Majority Leader Barkley on its delinquencies. Thereupon, the Senate progressives began to get worried. Until this time they had waited for Truman to call the signals and then rushed in to back him up. Now a combination of the British election results and conservative Truman appointments aroused doubts about the direction in which the Administration was drifting. Twelve Democratic Senators gathered at lunch just before the recess to discuss the kind of progressive program they could agree to fight for in the fall, and swore to spend their vacations selling that program to the country.

The sudden end of the war canceled all plans. The President called Congress back. The progressives had barely begun their appeal to the country for support. Congressmen had not had time to get the full benefit of a "fresh bath in the atmosphere of their home districts and the opinions of their home folks."

Truman lost little time in going before his former colleagues with a lengthy, specific and courageous message containing his reconversion plans. His prescription for attaining "a better life here at home and a better world for generations yet to come" included:

1. Unemployment compensation
2. Minimum wage increases
3. Removal of wartime controls
4. Government reorganization
5. Full employment
6. Fair-employment practices
7. Wage-stabilization machinery
8. Federal employment service
9. Agricultural adjustment
10. Selective Service
11. National housing program
12. Government research
13. Federal tax reform
14. Surplus-property disposal
15. Assistance to small business
16. Veterans' benefits
17. Public works and national resources
18. Lend-Lease and postwar reconstruction
19. Congressional salaries
20. Sale of ships
21. Stockpiling of strategic materials

The country warmed to his honest statement of the facts and the urgency of the moment. The liberals were reassured and once more slid into the role of blocking backs.

And it was soon apparent that there would be plenty of blocking to do. The conservative Southern Democrats who had made life so miserable for Roosevelt by joining with the conservative Republicans against New Deal measures, made it clear that a change in Presidents had not caused them to change their minds. Of course they loved "good old Harry," and he could count on them for anything—except their votes.

It was about this time that the President decided he needed help in keeping Congress in line. He had a cabinet full of ex-Senators and Representatives who supposedly "understood" Congress and were capable of handling their own departmental relations with the Hill. But that did not seem enough. The President reached out for a trustworthy lieutenant and his hand

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fell on George E. Allen, a professional politician and big-business operator who, by making himself pleasant and useful, had managed to stay within arm's-length of Mr. Truman ever since he swung onto the vice-presidential train during the campaign.

ALLEN's first assignment was to get the Murray-Kilgore "$25-for-26-weeks," unemployment-compensation bill through. He bungled it from the start. First he asked the experts in Reconversion Director John Snyder's office how much of the pending bill the Administration would actually settle for, then he freely revealed this information to the members of Congress with whom he was supposed to bargain! For days, reporters and congressional observers had trouble understanding what was going on, for no one could believe that an old hand like George Allen, brought out of Mississippi by Pat Harrison and taken into big business by Victor Emmanuel, could be guilty of such a move. Finance Committee Chairman George reported out a useless job-insurance bill, and the Senate passed it.

Allen shifted to the House, presumably to get the original bill past "Muley Bob" Doughton and his Ways and Means Committee. The committee voted to shelve the bill. Allen scratched his head and came up with a new strategy. He persuaded Mr. Truman to accept an invitation to visit Statesville, North Carolina —in Doughton's district—and another to a Georgia Tech football game in Atlanta, capital of Walter George's state. Perhaps, Allen reasoned, "Muley Bob" and George would be so moved by this show of friendship on the President's part that they would toss aside their lifetime record of reaction and do what Truman wanted after all. But since public reaction against the Truman jauntings of last month caused the White House to cancel this Southern trip, the mighty Allen strategy will not be put to the test.

Meanwhile, other parts of the President's reconversion program were getting into trouble without George Allen's help. A rough sort of liberal bloc, including Republicans like Tobey, Aiken, Morse, and New Deal Democrats, assembled to push the Murray-Patman full-employment bill through Senator Robert Wagner's Banking and Currency Committee without serious damage. But on the Senate floor, the old Unholy Alliance of "Republocrats" practically made mincemeat of the measure before it was passed. Administration leaders began to insist that they were actually the leaders of a minority rather than a majority party, and therefore could not be held responsible for defeats.

The authorized committees in both houses cut even further the Administration's already rock-bottom tax program. They prepared to dismember the vitally important United States Employment Service just when it was most needed to stabilize reconversion hirings. They exempted so many agencies from the government-reorganization bill that it was unworkable, pigeonholed social-security expansion and bottled up the proposals for national health, housing and education programs, along with an increased minimum wage.

President Truman then marshaled his executive forces for action. Every major department and agency received orders that it was responsible for such and such sections of the 21-point reconversion program. Now that it was practically too late, Labor and the Federal Security Agency were made jointly responsible for the unemployment-compensation bill and the continuation of the USES, and Labor alone for the increase in minimum wages. Secretary of the Treasury Vinson, known for his ability to get along with his former colleagues in the House, was to help Labor salvage the full-employment bill as well as to obtain a plan for modernization of the tax structure. The State Department, under ex-Senator Byrnes, was given the UNRRA appropriation, repeal of the Johnson Act, and foreign-loan measures. And so on. The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion under Truman's Missouri war buddy, John Snyder, was to continue to coördinate the whole program and, together with the Budget Bureau, bear responsibility for its success. Under this new plan, all agencies report their legislative progress to the President and Snyder on the 1st and 15th of each month.

All this new organizational structure is reassuring to the small, orderly minds in the Administration, but Truman's record to date under this system is two measures passed out of twenty-one attempts. His requests for a single Surplus Property Administrator and for a stockpiling bill have been granted, and that's all. Why?

MANY of the reasons are obvious and well known. The Seventy-ninth Congress was as surely stacked against a liberal program for Harry Truman as it was for Franklin Roosevelt. Mr. Truman was right in try-

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"A new paperweight, Mr. President."

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ing from the first to win as many members to his side by as many approaches as possible. He was probably wrong in going even farther, as he seems to have done, and believing Congress in its present form and condition was capable of formulating a policy by itself which would meet the needs of our economy at this critical time. "I know not how better to describe our form of government in a single phrase," Woodrow Wilson wrote in his *Constitutional Government*, "than by calling it a government by the chairmen of the Standing Committees of Congress." President Truman was faced with a formidable set of reactionary committee chairmen, put and kept in office by the seniority rules and the committee system of the last century. His only chance of whipping them into line was by arousing their constituents, not by patting them on the back.

TRUMAN, though more slowly than a Missouri politician should, has finally faced up to this fact. It was going a long way for Truman, the regular party man, when he singled out Doughton and Carter Manasco in his recent radio address on wage-price policy and denounced their committees for holding up unemployment compensation and the full-employment and government-reorganization measures.

There has been some improvement in Administration work on the Hill since that speech. But there still seems to be no realization of the bigger, fundamental job that must be done before Congress can be brought into line: the job to be done within Congress itself and the job to be done throughout the country. The most important, naturally, is the latter.

There is no denying the fact that a general lethargy has penetrated to all corners of the country. Visitors and natives alike see and identify it. War exhaustion and comfortably full stomachs probably induced this state. It is the greatest enemy of Truman's peacetime program and the greatest strength of the reactionary coalition in Congress today. But it is no unnatural phenomenon to be concealed and feared. It has appeared even within the life of the New Deal, and Roosevelt routed it each time by speaking out clearly about the dangers and the opportunities ahead, by appealing, as he said, to "the common sense of the common people." Liberal politicians who have covered a good part of the country recently, returned to Washington strong in the conviction that the same kind of appeal would again rout this lethargy. With it would go, at least in part, the present unbalance of pressures on Congress, the field day which the representatives of special privilege have been enjoying in Washington in recent months. Even a dozen carefully chosen Administration spokesmen might make a deep impression in a very short time. The demand that such a try be made is rising from liberals throughout the nation.

In Congress itself, at least two things must be done. A congressional-reorganization plan aimed at the abolition of the seniority rule, simplification of the committee system and modernization of procedure must be pushed through by some means or other. Admittedly, it is a tremendous task to induce an outworn institution to approve its own reorganization; but if such reorganization were put at the top of the Administration priority list with Congress, doubtless the wise political heads in Truman's cabinet could figure out ways of winning the most essential parts of the reform program. Until this goal is won, there can be no real succession of victories for the general welfare.

An even more important move within Congress is the building of a strong, well organized liberal bloc in both houses. The twelve Senators who met together last July to align themselves behind a liberal program can probably be expanded to twice that number as a beginning, and a dozen more could be relied on to join that group on occasional issues. Mr. Truman's old Senate friends can best help him now, not by hanging back, but by binding themselves tightly to their fellow progressives and fighting as a team.

The same applies to the House. Liberals there have perhaps worked closest together on the full-employment bill, but not closely enough. Individuals have functioned tirelessly and efficiently on their own, but the added values of highly organized teamwork are still undiscovered. In both Houses, the lack of a perfect or near-perfect leader for the liberal bloc has been a major deterrent. This problem is greater in the Senate than in the House. The penalty of long incumbency is old and tired leaders, and the New Deal is paying that price in the Senate. One or several of the younger men will have to be released from the seniority straitjacket before the liberal bloc can be properly organized and vitalized. Finding suitable leadership for a similar bloc in the House depends more on finding men or women willing to put the success of the Administration program before their own political survival than on overcoming seniority barriers.

NOT SINCE the Administration of Warren Harding, our last Senator-President before Truman, has the legislative branch of the government been in the dominant position it has held in the last six months. The result has been a stalemate between the President and Congress at a time when prompt and decisive action is vital. These last six months should at least have taught us that congressional independence does not assure us of congressional leadership, that Congress at this stage is too poorly organized to formulate policies adequate for these times, much less to see to it that they are properly executed. We have no right to expect real improvement in this state of affairs until another loud appeal has been made to "the common sense of the common people" to fight for all our futures, until progressives in and out of Congress have tightened their ranks and started to fight in earnest.

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Letter from England

by Bruce Bliven

LONDON in November is a curious mixture of hope and fear. As regards England's own problems, including that of getting her exports and imports on a manageable basis, there is the utmost confidence that things can be worked out. But as regards external matters, and especially the relations among the chief powers, there is an atmosphere of deepening gloom. After some weeks of going about talking to dozens of professional or semi-professional observers of international affairs, I can find no one who speaks with any hope or confidence of the emerging United Nations Organization. On the contrary, the general feeling is that we have already gone back in large degree to balance-of-power politics (if indeed we ever left it). Even people who are in general most sympathetic to Russia have found some of her recent actions gravely disturbing. Viewed from across the Atlantic, American secrecy about the atomic bomb looks more serious and ominous than it apparently does to most of us at home. Many people here say openly that they believe the world is already on the brink of an atomic-bomb armament race, with all the dangers of a sudden attack by some power animated by the pure panic that such a race implies.

Deepest of all the immediate shadows which London sees is the outlook for Europe this winter. After close study on the scene, competent experts report that hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of persons will die of starvation before spring. This will be true if we all do our best; and it is by no means certain that our best will be forthcoming. Even if we manage to feed most of the Europeans this winter, the problem of the future—in Germany, for instance—remains one of the greatest difficulty. Both in that country and in several others, the Nazis deliberately killed off a large proportion of the natural leaders among the non-Nazis; and those who are left are now victims of a distressing moral apathy and lassitude.

The world needs a great imaginative forward gesture, such as Franklin Roosevelt, if he had lived, might have been able to make. But no one in London feels that the present leader of any of the chief powers is capable of such a gesture. In its absence, we are likely to get a continuance of the politics of fear.

The Palestine problem, viewed from here, seems even more serious than it does from New York. It is significant that the armed revolt by the more intransigent elements among the Jews did not take place until the Labor government had been in power in Great Britain for about three months. It is clear that many if not all of the Jews feel that the Palestinian policy of the new government is similar in all important respects to that of the preceding coalition, and that it includes encouraging Arabian hostility to the Jews for reasons of imperial politics.

Relations between Britain and the United States are obviously under great strain. It is still a cornerstone of British policy to maintain friendship with ourselves if it is humanly possible to do so; but the list of current grievances against us is accumulating. The shock of the abrupt termination of Lend-Lease without, as the British feel, adequate warning, still lingers. At the risk of repeating the obvious, one must say again that Britain's economic dilemma as a result of the war is grave in the extreme; it may be obvious, but there is plenty of evidence that many people in America still do not understand it, and do not realize that neither country can be truly prosperous for very long without the prosperity of the other.

DURING THE WAR the British lost a great part of all their investments abroad. Normally they import two-thirds of their foodstuffs, and even in wartime they were able to get this down only to one-third. Formerly, interest on their investments abroad paid for a great part of this food. Today nearly all of it must be balanced by actual exports or by services such as shipping and insurance. But many of the markets they would normally seek are in chaos because of the war, and others—the United States, for instance—are doubtful because of existing or possible tariffs. The British are prepared to go on with drastic rationing for a long time—the Labor government got a grant of sweeping powers, the other day, for the next five years. They know they must see all sorts of goods which are badly needed by themselves kept off the domestic market and sent abroad to pay for all-important foodstuffs. They are short of raw materials, short of factory equipment, short of manpower (Britain's war losses were proportionately three times our own; it was as though we had had 750,000 killed and three million wounded).

They welcome a loan from America, of course, with which to get back on their feet. Some of them feel (though they are most cautious about publicly expressing it) that we are being overly businesslike in view of the fact that for two years and more Britain stood alone in fighting what turned out to be our war too. But they recognize that a loan is only a temporary palliative and that the important thing is to become a going concern again. Lending more money to a man whose books don't balance only postpones the evil day and makes it worse when it does come.

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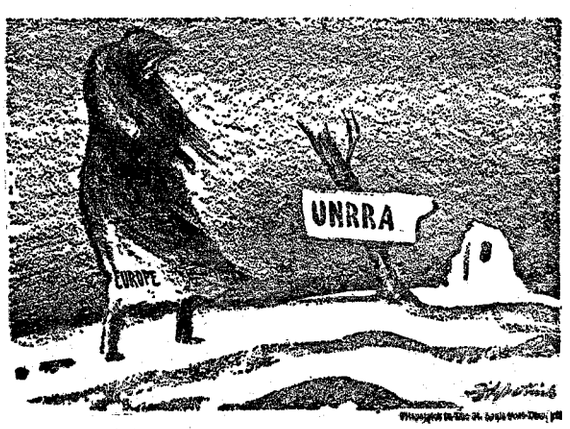
In regard to Bretton Woods, the great majority of the British would be only too happy to ratify the agreement at once and go to work on that basis. But they have long memories; they recall painfully how, after the last war, the United States more or less turned its back on the rest of the world, built a tariff wall around itself, and subsidized its exports—for a few years until the crash came—by making loans abroad which we should have known could never be repaid except in goods, which we were unwilling to accept. For America, they point out, foreign trade is a luxury, the icing on the cake, most of which we could dispense with if we had to; but for them it is a most desperate necessity. They feel that before embarking on a program which will stand or fall by America's willingness to coöperate, they *must* be sure that this time we shall stick to the new pattern. And the tragedy, of course, is that none of us can give that assurance; while there are plenty of Americans who see the point, and favor an expanded foreign trade, there are plenty of others who do not.

In spite of their dilemma, I repeat, the British are not downhearted about their internal problems; it is only when they think about Russia or the atomic bomb or the impending starvation in Europe that their faces grow long. The whole country is like the crew of a ship in a storm; in spite of the violent differences between the Labor Party and the Conservatives, the team work is amazing. Of the really breath-taking plans of the Labor Party I shall speak in another article; but even outside the confines of that exciting program, the country stands together to an extent which to an American is really astonishing. The autumn dock strike came at the worst possible time; it endangered the food supply to some extent just when rations had gone down below the war level; yet the good nature of the press and people—even the ultra-conservative papers—was, to a foreigner, extraordinary. There was none of that blazing, almost incoherent vituperation with which Mr. Hearst or Colonel McCormick greets a similar event in the United States. Indeed, the courtesy of the British to each other in little things and big ones is astonishing to American eyes. If you seek to pass a car on the road, the driver will almost invariably give you a hand signal to go forward. A six-year-old child who accidentally rolls his hoop against you in the street instantly apologizes in his clear English treble. The constant English patter of "Thank you!" is like the cooing of doves: no single item may mean very much, but the phenomenon as a whole is deeply significant. I don't want to make the country sound like a Utopia; but certainly for the way the English have taken the war, and are taking their present hardships, they deserve the world's admiration. The knowledge that this is true takes some of the sting out of their realization that the once all-powerful British Empire now has to reckon with two very weighty rivals, America and Russia.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The One Hope

THREE MONTHS AFTER WAR'S END, its scars, physical and spiritual, are still very deep in this country. Everywhere you go you see bomb damage: gaping holes where a house or a row of houses once existed, holes which have been tidied up to the last possible degree and then surrounded by a neat, brand-new brick wall, breast high, to keep you from falling in. Nothing seems more characteristically English than that solid brick wall around a hole which they surely hope will be only temporary. (There were, naturally, good and immediate reasons for it: the shortage of wood, the danger of fire in subsequent raids, the fact that used bricks from blitzed buildings were readily available.) In hundreds of other cases the building seems intact at first glance, until you look up and see the sky through the second-story windows.

Life here is far easier than it was during the war, of course. The lights are on again (though very dimly because of the coal shortage, about as much illumination as we had in New York during the dim-out). In October, restaurant cars were restored on the most important long-distance trains, some of which, Americans may be surprised to learn, have runs of 24 hours or more. The gasoline ration has been greatly liberalized and is now what it was with us at the worst moment, two gallons a week. On the other hand, the housing shortage is about as bad as it could possibly be. England lost 800,000 houses wholly destroyed or seriously damaged during the blitz, and the shortage of men and materials makes repairs an extremely serious matter; you have to get a license to have your house restored, and only the most urgent cases are now being handled. Hotel rooms are as unobtainable as they are in New York; any visitor to London must be prepared to sleep on a railway-station bench, and in many cases businessmen are using cots in their offices. Food is restricted both in quantity and quality and is heavily on the starchy side. There are practically no eggs or oranges, and no milk for drinking except by children and invalids; healthy adults get a minute weekly supply,

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most of which they put, hot, into their coffee. Soap is exceedingly scarce; all kinds of candy are rationed on a most meager scale. One of the things which is apt to startle a foreigner is that napkins (the British call them "serviettes") have completely disappeared, even from the most fashionable and expensive restaurants; both the textiles and the laundry manpower are lacking.

It is difficult for a visitor to judge just how restricted are the rations because your British host will cheerfully put a week's food on the table and urge you to eat it all. If you fail to do so, he thinks you are holding back out of consideration for him, and his feelings are likely to be hurt. In consequence, an American—or at least, this American—goes around eating more than he wants or is good for him, and feeling as guilty as if he had robbed a baby's bank.

Against this background of anxiety and shared hardship, the British people are proceeding with one of the great experiments of all history—the rapid and unfaltering introduction of a large degree of state socialism, an orderly revolution of a kind which many theoreticians have said was impossible. Of this I shall write in another article.

Austria Between Two Epochs

by Edward Mosk

THE DECISION to divide both Germany and Austria into four governing areas has made the administration of Germany difficult, but for Austria it may mean starvation and death by freezing for thousands this winter. Although the belated recognition of the Renner government will alleviate the situation somewhat, the benefit may be slight unless there is a change in the Allied approach to Austria.

Prewar Austria proved too small to maintain a sound economy constituted as one country; today it is divided into four parts. The Austrian Tyrol and Vorarlberg are occupied by the French. The Americans occupy Salzburg and the areas of Upper Austria south of the Danube; the British have Carinthia and Styria, while the Russians occupy Lower Austria and the part of Upper Austria north of the Danube. In addition, the city of Vienna is also divided into four zones.

Austria's problems today are threefold. There are serious international complications arising from failure to approach the reconstitution of Austria with prearranged understandings as to her status; or, if such understandings existed, a failure on the part of the Americans and British to dispense this information to the officers responsible for carrying out policy. Second, the Allies have failed to implement their excellent directives calling for fostering of democratic political activities and local self-government by the people. Finally, carving the country into four parts has presented economic problems which are insoluble without changes in the administrative set-up.

Although the degree to which the Austrians fought the Nazis before liberation is not significant when placed alongside the magnificent struggle of the Yugoslavs and Greeks or even the Italians, one cannot overlook the story of "05" (Ostereich 1945), the resistance movement which had considerable strength in Vienna and the Austrian Tyrol, the activities of the Austrian Freedom Front in Carinthia, and the Allied parachutist-led guerrillas in the Salzkammergut and other mountainous regions.

We had given the Austrians a long psychological preparation for independence and freedom from the Nazis. We regularly broadcast the provisions of the Moscow declaration which indicated that we viewed Austria as Nazi-conquered and therefore entitled to independence if she helped to throw out the occupying forces. But after the Nazis were expelled, all did not work out as planned.

The American Fifth Army which had fought its way up the Italian peninsula had originally been designated as the occupying force for the American sector of Austria. The officials of Military Government and Counter-Intelligence Corps officers entrusted with the de-Nazification program were trained in Italy. But the military breakthrough on the western front brought the Seventh Army and General Patton's Third Army into Austria from the north first. Since the armies coming in from Germany had no new directives, they applied their German directives. Theoretically, Austria was a liberated country; yet a non-fraternization rule was enforced there just as long as it was in Germany; we did not allow the formation of political parties; we did not allow the publication of newspapers; and we prohibited the flying of the Austrian flag. It was confusing for politically conscious Austrians who rushed to assist us in the elimination of Nazi influences and who hoped to participate in setting up democratic government. Similar confusion existed in the British zone. The Russians, on the other hand, permitted fraternization and political activity. The French came into the picture in July, when we turned the Tyrol

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and Vorarlberg over to them. They immediately made the situation more complicated when they allowed the flying of the Austrian flag and permitted fraternization, prohibited the day before under the Americans. They made up for their liberality in these matters, however, by dealing almost exclusively with the most conservative elements.

THE AMERICAN FAILURE to declare a clear policy in line with previous propaganda was a severe blow to the hopes of anti-Nazi elements and also to our prestige with the general population. Our indecision in the early days, coupled with failure to take immediate action to implement the separation of the country from Germany, played into the hands of the pro-Nazis. Shrewd propagandists, they were able to whisper to the people, "You thought because you were Austrians you would be treated better. Now you see that we are all in the same boat."

But more serious was our failure to make proper use of the vocal and tested anti-Nazis. This is best illustrated by a situation which developed in an American-occupied area in Upper Austria. An MG captain, realizing his own limitations in dealing with local problems, accepted the help of a group of anti-Nazi Austrians who were familiar with the situation. Within a week all of the Nazi leaders were in jail, a representative local government composed of known anti-Nazis had been established to coöperate with MG and a non-political weekly newspaper, directed toward reëducation, was being published by local Austrians. Information about the paper spread throughout the countryside and 30,000 copies of the second issue were published. Unfortunately, news of the experiment in what amounted to Austrian self-government also reached nearby division headquarters and an order was issued to the MG captain to prohibit further publication of the paper and to cease dealing with the anti-Nazi resistance group as such. He could continue to work with individuals, but not with groups.

On another occasion, the appointed mayors of twelve cities—mostly Social Democrats but with a few Christian Socials included—petitioned MG to be allowed a greater voice in the determination of local affairs, and particularly asked that MG place greater reliance on anti-Nazi elements. They said that they could not conscientiously continue in office unless these requests were honored. The immediate reaction of the MG officers was to threaten arrest of the entire group, but they were somewhat taken aback when they found no fear on the part of the mayors. "We have been in Nazi prisons before; we can stand an American prison if that is necessary now," was their answer.

There can be no doubt that Nazi propaganda has had a tremendous effect on the thinking of all Austrians. But the war and the collapse of Nazi "invincibility" brought disillusion and an unequaled opportunity to win over these people to democratic ideals. And enough sincere and able anti-Nazis were left properly to channelize this disillusion and confusion, given the opportunity.

Our military directives were clear and proper. The State Department on October 27 announced the policy for Austria which it and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had issued to General Clark on June 27. It included the elimination of Nazism and all forces opposed to the democratic restoration of Austria, facilitating the development of a sound Austrian economy separate from Germany, and fostering the restoration of local self-government. But by this time incidents such as those cited above had caused irreparable damage and shown all too clearly the inability of some of our military authorities to understand the spirit of such a directive.

This is borne out by the fact that, despite this directive, it is only within the last few weeks that we have finally officially allowed political activity in Upper Austria. It was an open secret which only added to the hypocrisy of the situation that all of the parties had been organized and functioning since the early days of occupation. Now a local Upper Austrian government has been formed on political lines with a five-three-one ratio for the Volkspartei, Socialists and Communists. But the value of this step has been negated by the reluctance of the local MG officials, who are allowing this political action only because of pressure from above, to grant permits for meetings.

But perhaps most serious are the economic effects of the splitting up of the country. The artificial barriers established by the occupation forces have affected every phase of Austria's economic life. Prior to the war Austria supplied only 75 percent of her own food and much of her fuel was imported; now what food and fuel remain are unequally distributed through the four zones. The bakers in Vienna were baking unsalted bread because they were cut off from the salt mines of Upper Austria; cattle in the Tyrol, Vorarlberg and Salzburg in the French and American zones are inaccessible to Vienna, while wheat from Lower Austria is not available for the French and American zones. Coal badly needed in Vienna is to be found only in Styria and Upper Austria. Trucks needed for transport are woefully lacking in all areas.

RECOGNITION of the Renner government was only a first step in resolving the chaos. The government was probably as representative as it could have been before the elections of November 27. Renner and most of the Socialists in key positions are right-wingers and do not have the full confidence of many of the younger elements in the party. The latter feel that their active leadership in underground anti-fascist activity after 1943 should entitle them to a greater share in the party leadership today. The Volkspartei is also a new

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name in Austrian politics. It has thus far managed to eliminate from party leadership many of the Christian Social leaders who were closely associated with the clerico-fascist regimes of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg, but despite official statements that the Church will keep out of politics, the Volkspartei remains essentially the political arm of the Church and its representation in the government has been reassuring to some of the more conservative elements in the provinces. The Communists have gained some strength during the war, but are still a minority party. Meetings have been held looking toward possible amalgamation of the Socialist and Communist Parties, but to date no concrete steps have been taken. The Communists held the influential Interior and Education Ministries in the first Renner government, but this power is curbed by the three-party set-up which calls for Socialist and Volkspartei vice-ministers for each Communist minister.

However, merely having the government reasonably representative is only half a solution. The new government must be given adequate responsibility. Not only must its authority be established over the entire country, but the absurdity of the separate zones should be eliminated. The government must be given control over local as well as national administration, which means increased responsibility in the hands of Austrians rather than the Allied military administrators. This should include responsibility for a more thorough de-Nazification program, the carrying out of the separation from Germany, the distribution of food and fuel regardless of zone boundaries and the re-education of the Austrian people toward recreating a a democratic Austria.

There are a sufficient number of proved anti-Nazis adequately to handle all administration. There is, perhaps, grave question whether they alone could maintain authority. Hence it is essential that we keep sufficient Allied military forces in the country to supervise and give effect to the decisions of the Austrian government. But this authority should be exercised by a single four-power advisory body acting under unified decisions rather than the four separate administrations currently operating.

Disillusionment with Nazism is still great in Austria, but without encouragement it cannot last indefinitely. If our failure to recognize the seriousness of the present situation leads to widespread hunger and unnecessary cold this winter, reaction may set in. The American governmental officials who recognize these dangers are unfortunately not in authority. An anti-Nazi Austrian perhaps most aptly characterized American administration in Austria when he said:

"The trouble with the Americans is that those with understanding have no authority and those with authority have no understanding."

Detroit: Danger Area

by Ralph G. Martin

THE ELECTION is now old stuff, but the stink still lingers on. That's because this was no ordinary campaign of political name-calling. This was dirty, vicious scraping at the raw, nervous racial roots that comprise mixed-up Detroit. A cab driver summed it up simply:

"This is what you call a hot town, brother. Within a year, this whole thing is probably gonna blow up into the biggest race riot you ever heard of, something that's gonna make those race riots of 1943 seem like a tea party. Besides that, we got an awful big strike coming off soon. It just ain't healthy around here any more."

Those are the two big reasons why Detroit is unhealthy: the strike situation and the lynch talk. The lynch talk has come mostly from the tightly organized crowds of crackpot, lily-white Lunatic Fringers who have been hysterically resentful of the flood of 200,000 migratory workers who had been recruited to work in Detroit's war industries. Their big yell now is that these workers (mostly "poor whites" and Negroes from the South) should go back where they came from. The yell is getting louder because it's obvious now that the bulk of them aren't going anywhere unless they're fired. They rather like the idea of making more money in a month than they used to make in a year, of eating and living instead of only starving and existing.

You overhear this kind of talk in a theatre lobby during intermission: "My wife was telling me just the other day how these poor white trash and niggers have been walking right into the stores where she's been buying her most expensive stuff. Can you imagine the nerve of those sons-of-bitches?"

Ralph G. Martin, a former combat correspondent for Stars and Stripes *and* Yank, *covered the campaign in Tunisia, Sicily, France and Germany. He has also contributed extensively to the New York* Times *Sunday Magazine Section. Before the war he was a newspaperman in Utah. Mr. Martin visited Detroit as correspondent for the* New Republic, *of which he has just become an assistant editor.*

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DURING THE ELECTION, it was people like Floyd McGriff who took this specific hate and multiplied it a million times and blanketed the town with snide poison.

McGriff had a simple tactic that made the Coughlinites and the Gerald L. K. Smith crowd and 300-percent super-patriotic United Sons of America all seem like a bunch of amateurs. McGriff's tactic was the old one of "divide and conquer"—don't appeal to just one group, appeal to everybody. He started by buying up small neighborhood papers and converting them into sensational hate sheets, boiling up all the prejudices of each neighborhood. The single note he loud-pedaled was the one against the Negro. (McGriff doesn't publish any paper in the Negro section.) Then, when election time came around, McGriff was all set. In one McGriff newspaper, Frankensteen was labeled a Communist, while in another, in a different part of town, he was called a Coughlinite. Similarly, Frankensteen was both Jewish and anti-Semitic, both anti-labor and pro-labor, both a Negro-lover and a Negro-hater. It was just a matter of which McGriff paper you read.

It was a known fact in Detroit that the Negroes were voting practically in a lump group for Frankensteen. The big reason for this was that they had been packed tight in non-expanding slums, living eight to a small room, and that Mayor Jeffries had come out with the statement that public housing was "not necessarily needed." McGriff and Company took this single fact and swelled it up into something monstrous. Hundreds of thousands of small colored cards were dropped from airplanes and automobiles and office windows, thoroughly sprinkling all the "white" areas of Detroit.

The cards read:

Negroes Can Live Anywhere
In Any Areas—Any Sections of Detroit
With Frankensteen As Mayor
Negroes Do Your Duty November 6th

The buzz-buzz around town that followed was stronger than any broadcast. It was ugly talk, dangerously ugly. Finally, when a long list of prominent Detroiters openly denounced the thing as dirty dynamite, Jeffries was prompted, the day before election, to assure everybody that he personally had nothing to do with it. He even described the propaganda effect as "murder."

But there was something even more viciously clever, more subtle. It was a throwaway sheet, delivered to all "white" Detroiters, showing unflatteringly distorted pictures of Frankensteen and a candidate for Councilman, Charles A. Hill, with the word "Negro" under his picture. The heading was simply, "For Equality in the City Hall." The confusion that followed its distribution forced Frankensteen to make a statement saying that it was just another dirty job put out and paid for by the Jeffries backers.

But the whispering kept getting louder. You could hear it in the bars and the park benches and the quiet homes: "No kidding, if Frankensteen gets elected, the niggers will just take over Detroit." The racial tension here now is much more important than the election ever was.

Detroit's big headache number two is the strike situation. Despite General Motors' warning that it's going to last a long time, most people here seem to think differently.

Not that the United Auto Workers can't afford it. Back in 1937 they had a 44-day strike when their treasury was much sadder than it is now. Now, 90 UAW locals have a total strike fund of almost $750,000, while the International Union has a reserve of $3 million. Of course, this doesn't stack up with General Motors' liquid cash reserve of $903 million. But the UAW puts it this way: "GM may have the money but we have the men, and you can't compare dollars with human beings."

"I'll tell you why there's not going to be a long strike," said a quiet-talking barber. "It's just because there are too many Americans who want to buy cars this year. And if there aren't any General Motors cars on the market because of a strike, then they're going to buy Fords and Chryslers. And then next year they're going to trade them in for more Fords and Chryslers because they'll get a bigger trade-in value that way and that's just the way Americans do things. And those people at General Motors know all about that. They're very practical people, those General Motors people."

But talk around town has it that GM is hoping that any strike now will cause Congress to ram through some anti-strike legislation and slam the full force of government and public pressure against all unions.

THE UAW's Walter Reuther has been smart on publicity and GM didn't do itself any good when it kicked reporters out of the original conferences. Then when GM made it a policy to keep its administrative mouth shut, reporters had to go to Reuther for the news, and Reuther was more than willing. That's why so many Americans have heard about how GM representatives read newspapers, with their feet on the conference table, while UAW officials pleaded their case. And when the UAW politely asked for more attention, how GM officials said, "These newspapers are lots more interesting than the crap you're giving us."

As for the final company reply to the UAW proposals, even the readers of the New York *Times* know that the GM answer was, "Our profits are none of your damn business." But no matter what people elsewhere think, the basic situation here is the same. Detroit is the American city to worry about.

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Death of a German Generation

by Eduard C. Lindeman

THE MATERIALS and qualities with which to create a genuine community do not exist in present-day Germany. In fact, no German national being exists, and there is not at present enough inter-group or inter-personal respect and confidence to bring it into existence. Hitler has thoroughly destroyed the Germany which was, and, alas, he has well-nigh achieved his boast of destroying Europe as well. His counter-revolution has left "Europe in a state of distracted stupor, with engines still turning in the breeze, but with the spirit gone." The utter physical destruction of the German cities is as nothing compared with the spiritual desolation of the German people. Through hatred of themselves they have at last realized their collective death-wish. If a new society is to arise on these ruins, it will need to be built by generations still to be born. The corruption and degradation of living Germans is complete.

This is a harsh judgment, and so it is meant to be. I can only despair. I can see no other way to conceive of a future state and culture comprised of German persons and occupying German soil. Optimistic perspectives regarding contemporary Germany have already led to dangerous error, and particularly on the part of those responsible for its control during the period of occupation.

Why does one hear so many conflicting and contradictory reports concerning Germany? The answer is not simple. In the first place, there are at least four strata of authority operating in Germany today and it is not an easy matter to discover which layer is functioning at any given moment. The monarchistic era which brought Germany to the position of a great world power has not lost its influence. In fact, this regime now more than ever stands out as Germany's golden age. The legal German state created by the Weimar Constitution, although it is still the true basis of German national existence, is regarded as a disastrous failure. The illegal National Socialist state was overthrown by Allied conquest, but the ecstasy which its dramatic reign evoked in the breasts of Germans has not been erased. Contemporary Germans are responding to these three authorities, and superimposed upon them is the rule of four-partite military government.

The second difficulty arises from the ambivalence of German character. Arrogance and servility, sadism and masochism play equally strong roles in the German personality. One is never sure which extreme is in command at the moment. This is true of individuals as well as communities. Because the Germans are a herd-minded people, one finds that at one moment an entire community exhibits sullen arrogance and at the next groveling obsequiousness. The third difficulty is the fact that Germans have not yet decided what attitude to assume toward Allied occupation. They are testing the occupied forces with a cunning that is both artful and insidious. Thus far their most successful device has been to identify themselves culturally with their British, American and French conquerors as a future coalition against the "common enemy," Russia.

Are the Germans penitent, or do they acknowledge guilt? I found not the slightest shred of evidence to indicate that Germans feel any sense of responsibility for the present world chaos. They insist that Great Britain started the war, that Germany fought a war of defense, and that in the end the odds were too strongly against them. This is the attitude of ordinary Germans. Technical men seem to feel that the defeat was due to bad judgment at crucial points, either on the part of Hitler himself or of his advisers. In the medieval town of Goslar, I heard a sermon which dealt with this question of repentance. The preacher asked bluntly: "Are the Germans more or less responsible for the present suffering in the world?" His answer was: "No, unless by chance we Germans have sinned more." He then illustrated what he meant by sin in selecting the Commandment: Thou shalt not steal. We live in a sinful world because now everybody steals, said the pastor, but we little people steal only little things while the big ones steal big things; they steal whole provinces, whole nations. This was the only evidence I found that thoughtful Germans were concerned over the question of guilt, and I remember how shocked I was later when, at a refugee camp near the Russian zone, I saw three young German boys, perhaps seven to nine years old, attacking each other with wooden staves. Finally one of the boys fell to the ground and the other two began beating him fiercely. At that point I intervened, and when I asked them what they were playing, they promptly replied: "*Krieg*." My pedagogic propensities led me to remonstrate and I said: "You German boys shouldn't play war again. Germany should never have another war." I got paid for my pains in proper German coin: the

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three boys clicked their heels and with great solemnity proclaimed: "We shall become soldiers."

Have regenerative forces begun to operate in German life? I had been told by other observers that I would find the beginnings of regeneration in the areas of religion, education and politics. I searched in all three directions and found nothing to warrant such optimism. The churches are filled, it is true, but there is nowhere else to go. The sermons I heard were predominantly other-worldly in tone and furnished no true moral guidance for the problems of the day. If the word is not entirely useless, I should say that I saw nothing but escapist religion. German schools, now operating at approximately 30 percent of prewar enrolment, are taught by German teachers who may have been found to be free of Nazi taint, but from my observations they were also lacking in every quality desirable in a modern guide for the young. I was told that in Hanover a new educational idea, something progressive, was being inaugurated. The name given to this new teaching method was *Heimatskunde,* which may be translated to mean "community lore," and the theory was that these German children were to begin their reorientation to the world by first of all learning to know their local habitat. When the teacher asked me to suggest a topic for discussion, I proposed that the children talk about the birds of their community. The teacher then stepped before the class and said, "Why does the stork have long legs?" All the pupils raised their hands. After five or six had given the answer—always in identical form—the teacher said: "Very well. Now will the whole class answer in unison," and back came the rote response in a loud and assured voice. If this is called progressive education, what must go on in the bulk of German schools?

I found it extremely difficult to learn anything of a trustworthy nature about political activities in occupied Germany. Communists are the only leaders who are equipped to conduct political activities under the conditions imposed by military occupation. But communism has lost its emotional appeal and the Russian armies of occupation (predominantly Asiatic) have turned out to be liabilities rather than assets as Communist propagandists. Social Democrats are mostly timid intellectuals, facile in speech but lacking in organizational talent. The present political vacuum cannot be filled, I believe, until trade unions and farmers' organizations are revived, and this cannot happen until military occupation is succeeded by civilian control.

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This One'll Make It Run Right

Does military occupation produce among Germans a favorable attitude toward democratic modes of living? Once more the answer must be in the negative. Pro-democratic propaganda falls on sterile soil. Our democratic symbols simply have no meaning for Germans. They do not believe that our victory over their armed forces bears any relationship to our cultural and political beliefs. At this point I must, however, mention one exception. The Lüneburg trial, which has had such a bad press here and in England, is, as a matter of fact, the only object-lesson which seems to have penetrated that "dark curtain which has for so long hung around the German mind." I talked with German visitors during intermissions, mostly lawyers and professors, and found that they were profoundly impressed. The dignity and thoroughness with which the British were conducting the trial of the Belsen prisoners is an example which cannot be missed even by those who had become inured to Nazi "justice." The fact that the prisoners themselves, those subhuman degenerates who perpetrated the Belsen atrocities, were wholly undeserving of such scrupulous legal attention reinforces the lesson.

What, then, is the responsibility of Germany's conquerors? In General Eisenhower's most recent report on the occupation he has supplied the basic principle which should guide our future actions. He said that military control should be supplanted gradually by civilian control and that Allied civilian control should disappear when German citizens have acquired enough authority to govern their country. This is a sound principle, but in order to make it effective, we should stop talking about time-tables. Under present circumstances it is utterly impossible to estimate the time required for the completion of this cycle. The task involved is not comparable to a military operation. We are attempting to rebuild a complex nation and the degree of its destruction equals its former complexity.

The principal element in the reconstruction of Germany is, of course, education. We have adopted an educational policy which now seems to me mistaken. We have said that German children must be taught by German teachers. But German teachers equipped for this fateful task simply do not exist. They must be trained, and while their reconditioning is in process we should not hesitate to recruit teachers from other regions, especially from neutral countries. When young

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Germans have reached a level of liberal understanding, they should be given important responsibilities. The new Germany must be governed by youth.

Our pro-democratic slogans are built with tired words. We should stop talking democracy and devote ourselves to democratic deeds. In the hundreds of camps for displaced persons and refugees are unlimited opportunities for demonstrating democracy in action. Civic projects of every variety lie about in profusion awaiting the touch of persons who understand the nature of democratic leadership. If, however, we were to adopt an activist, as distinguished from a verbal, policy with respect to democracy, it would be necessary to place alongside the armies of occupation other armies of civilians who are well trained and have democracy "in their bones."

The last of my proposals deals with the economic factor. The key to Germany's economic structure is, of course, that complicated industrial region known roughly as the Rhineland, which includes the valleys of the Ruhr and the Saar. Germany's future, and to a large extent the economic future of Europe, depends upon what disposition is made of this densely populated and highly integrated region. It has been proposed that its industries be dismantled, in which case it would be necessary to face a lowered standard of living not merely for Germany but for the surrounding areas. This would mean placing Germany on the basis of a perpetual recipient of charity. It has also been proposed that this region be returned to Germany intact, in which case these vast industrial resources will remain as the basis for future militarization. And, finally, it has been suggested that this region shall be denationalized and raised to the highest possible point of efficiency, supplying goods not only to Germany but to the rest of Europe as well. My inclination is definitely for this last proposal. An industrial enclave governed by the United Nations Organization and technically operated by the world's best managerial talent would relieve Germany's neighbors of fear, elevate the standards of living throughout Europe and furnish a yardstick of industrial efficiency.

The physical basis for a future Germany is still extant, in spite of the incredible destruction. German skill and willingness to work can be readily restored. But these resources utilized only to rebuild a physical Germany will again become the instruments of evil. They can become services of the good only when harnessed to and organically associated with generous and humane purposes. What is in reality dead in Germany is the humanist tradition and its attendant values. These can be revived only in a war-less world, and thus it happens that the lesson of Germany applies to ourselves.

The Men Who Made the A-Bomb

by Louis Falstein

X-10, OR CLINTON LABORATORIES, lies hidden between the ridges and is surrounded by great forests. The plant, inscrutable like all plants at Oak Ridge, shows no sign of life or activity. Three smokeless stacks and the white buildings give the impression of an abandoned ghost factory, and the guard towers and barbed-wire fences seem as if they are there only for the purpose of assuring peaceful slumber. Nearby, a big sign depicts a lazy sun coming up over the horizon with the inscription: "Dawn of Peace. Let's Make It Forever." It's a serene picture, but a false one. X-10 is very much alive. It works three shifts making plutonium for experimental purposes. And it has a greater concentration of scientists than any other plant at Oak Ridge, among them many GI's. Lately, these scientists have been very vociferous.

To Oak Ridgers the scientists are known as "long-hairs." To mountaineer Southerners on the Project the long-hairs are a peculiar lot who were at one time in favor of interdenominational services, "all praying in one church and at the same time," I heard said with obvious disapproval. And their children in school are forever clamoring for more student representation on the council. "They got 'em that Symphony Orchester playin' classical stuff." Some of them don't like segregation of the Negroes into "Colored Hutments" at Oak Ridge. Now they're raising a fuss about what should be done with the A-Bomb.

I was introduced to my first long-hair in the lobby of the Oak Ridge Guest House. He was a tall young man of about twenty-five, and was absorbed in the funnies when I came up. "I like the funnies very much," he said, "but Orphan Annie's politics make me mad."

In the evening I met another long-hair. He, too, was in his twenties. His wife looked like a girl recently out of college. "And this is my dog, Pluto," the young scientist said, "named after plutonium. A very intelligent dog." He turned to the dog and said: "Pluto, would you rather work for duPont or be a dead dog?" Pluto rolled over on his back and played dead. The

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owner tossed him a biscuit. Then he said: "Have you seen the May-Johnson bill? It's suicide. Something must be done . . ."

There are 75,000 people at Oak Ridge connected in one way or another with the Project. The Project is making atomic bombs. The war is over, and the Ridgers are well aware of the fact that atomic bombs are not needed for peace. They're thinking of the A-Bomb and the future, but only the scientists have made themselves heard. I wondered whether the others were silent because of their long habit of security or from fear of censorship by the Army. One chemist said to me: "I just don't think there's any hope. Don't quote me on that. I feel a terrible guilt. I sometimes wish I could be religious."

The Oak Ridge *Journal*, a town weekly, carries in its October 18 issue an interview with five Project workers picked at random. "What form of control do you favor for the atomic bomb?" To the outside world such a question suggests nothing out of the ordinary. But in Oak Ridge, where the people have kept quiet for three years, and where one of the large companies recently issued an order through the Army, forbidding, among other things, discussion and speculation on ". . . international agreements, beyond the presidential releases . . ." the *Journal's* modest poll is quite significant. Of the five questioned, four expressed themselves as favoring some sort of international control, while the fifth, an Army sergeant, said: "We should keep it here and use it as a powerful threat to ensure world peace. . . ."

THE SEVERAL HUNDRED civilian scientists at Clinton Laboratories have organized to find an answer to this most urgent problem. I met with members of the executive committee of the Association of Oak Ridge Scientists. It was somewhat surprising to find that the oldest man in the group was not yet thirty. But these men, chosen for their outstanding work in physics and chemistry, are a mature and responsible lot. There is an urgency about them now, and deep concern in their faces. They've fashioned a terrible weapon and consider themselves *the Responsibles*. They think now the weapon should be controlled jointly—by the world.

Who are these Responsibles? Most of them have been with the Project since its inception. They worked with it in Chicago on the "Metallurgical Project," where the first experiments were made on a limited scale with graphite piles by Dr. Fermi. Unlike most Ridgers, they knew what the Project was doing in its later stages, and what its end product would be. They worked stubbornly, tirelessly, completely disregarding their own safety. They, too, were front-line soldiers. "When Dr. Fermi set off the first graphite pile beneath a fence near Chicago University," a young scientist reminisced, "some men stood around with water hoses to put out the fire if the chain reaction threatened to get out of control. I was praying hard, hoping it wouldn't blow sky high, and there were these guys with little water hoses!"

When part of the Project moved to Oak Ridge in 1942, the scientists moved with it. Many of them went to work at Clinton Laboratories for further research on plutonium. And there, side by side with GI scientists, they embarked on a feverish race with Hitler for the completion of the atomic bomb. They trudged through the red-clay mud and often spent sixteen hours daily at the laboratory. At home, evenings, they stared at their wives silently. They could report neither their near-successes nor failures. The wives learned not to ask questions. "So we played Chinese checkers," one physicist said, "till we got sick of it."

"Once I found myself doodling on a piece of paper after dinner. My wife came up to where I was sitting. She didn't say anything. We'd got into the habit of not talking. But she looked at the paper on which I was drawing aimlessly and her eyes seemed to ask the question: 'What are you doing?' And what was I doing? Drawing a chain reaction on paper unconsciously. I tore the paper and threw it in the fireplace. Then we went to bed."

Dr. Harrison Brown, who had come to the Project from Johns Hopkins and who at the age of twenty-nine is an outstanding scientist and member of the Association, told me the story of those heartbreaking and crucial days. "On New Year's Eve, 1943, we finally achieved our first great goal," he said. "A complete milligram of plutonium—1/1000th of a gram! We sent it off to Chicago for critical experimental purposes and stayed in the laboratory to celebrate. But how long can you keep slapping each other on the shoulder? We could not tell our wives of the great triumph. So we retired at nine."

In July, 1945, the A-Bomb was tested in the desert of New Mexico. I'm told that a flyer who was sent up to observe the explosion from a safe distance was so startled by the bomb's flash that he radioed a terrified message to the ground: "The damned long-hairs have let it get away from them!"

The flyer was wrong. The bomb was a success. Many of the men who made it then petitioned the President not to use it on the remaining Axis power, Japan, without prior warning. However, they felt it was more dangerous for the world's future to keep the bomb secret than to explode it over Japan and thus shorten the war. They wanted it to be used in some way, realizing their own responsibility for the consequences.

With Hiroshima came the end of an epoch. "When the papers came out with news and it was no longer a secret," an Austrian refugee scientist relates, "we rushed it out in the streets and hollered ourselves hoarse: "Uranium . . . graphite pile . . . uranium. . . . Then we got drunk."

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IN THE FIRST WEEK of September the scientists at Oak Ridge began informal meetings to discuss the implications of the A-Bomb for the future. They found their concern shared by others. Two weeks later they set up a tentative organization and elected an executive committee. They issued their first Statement of Intent, boldly announcing that: 1. The A-Bomb is no secret. 2. We cannot long have a monopoly of its manufacture. 3. International control is the only solution.

By the end of September more than 90 percent of all civilian scientists at Clinton Laboratories banded formally into the Association of Oak Ridge Scientists. Similar groups came into existence in Chicago and Los Alamos, New Mexico.

Dr. P. S. Henshaw, a biologist on leave from the National Cancer Institute and one of the leading members of the Association, summed up the scientist's viewpoint. "For many years an accusing finger has been pointed at the scientist for his concern solely with the work in his laboratory. To some extent such accusation was correct. We were not, in large, concerned with the social implications of our work. But now we can no longer remain unconcerned. The necessity to speak out has been forced upon us by the nature of the weapon which we ourselves helped make. Man's very existence is threatened unless intelligent use is made of our discoveries."

It is ridiculous, the scientists point out, to claim that the A-Bomb and the so-called "know-how" can remain strictly an American possession. What about the great roster of European scientists who have experimented in the nuclear field for many years? And what about the scientists of European origin who had worked on aspects of the Project and who have since returned to their native lands? Nor need the other countries invest two billion dollars to achieve their goals. Our work was handicapped by the necessity for basing major decisions on largely theoretical predictions. They know the A-Bomb works. They know it can be manufactured through any one of four processes: electromagnetic, gaseous diffusion, thermal diffusion, and plutonium. They need use only one of these methods, or they can develop one of their own.

The May-Johnson bill, the scientists feel, even if considerably watered down by amendments, will defeat the very purposes which its short-sighted backers seek. For, rather than work under a cloak of secrecy and be subject to all manner of restrictive measures, many nuclear scientists will leave the field altogether, as some have already threatened to do.

The scientists do not claim to have an answer as to how the world should get along. They say an answer must be found. The world cannot afford *not* to get along. If we reveal no more information to the other nations, this country may hold leadership for a few years. After five years the United States cannot rely for its security upon producing more deadly atomic bombs. This knowledge has led some to propose that we ensure our security by forcibly preventing other nations from producing atomic bombs. Since no nation would peacefully accept this prohibition, such a step would mean that we should have to conquer the world within the next five years. At the present stage of atomic development, such world conquest would be neither quick nor certain. Nor would the American people acquiesce in such a course.

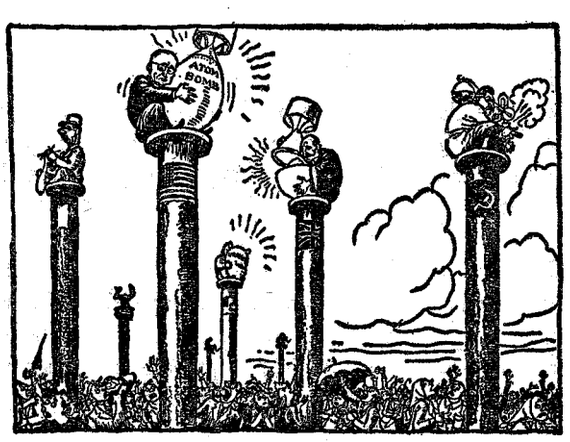
International control [say the scientists] is another alternative that has been widely proposed. No specific plans have been prepared, and we do not intend to offer one. We recognize that any such plan involves many difficulties, and may require that in order to preserve the peace of the world, we forgo some potential peaceful applications of atomic power and some phases of our national sovereignty.

The alternatives are clear! If we ignore the potentialities of atomic warfare, in less than a generation we may find ourselves on the receiving end of atomic raids. If we seek to achieve our own security through supremacy in atomic warfare, we will find that in ten years the whole world is as adequately armed as we, and that the threat of imminent destruction will bring about a "preventive war." If we recognize that our present leadership in atomic power can last at the most several years and we attempt to dominate the world, we will find ourselves immediately involved in another and greater war in violation of our democratic moral code and with no assurance of victory.

In view of the disastrous nature of these alternatives, we must expend every effort to achieve international coöperation and control as the only possible long-term solution.

We strongly urge the people of the United States and their leaders to think about, and find means for, the international control of atomic power. The United States must exert leadership to promote this. The citizens of our country, together with the peoples of the rest of the world, must demand that their leaders work together to find the means of effective international coöperation on atomic power. They must not fail. The alternatives lead to world suicide.

I talked to the men who made the A-Bomb. And that's their message to you.



Illingworth in the Trans-Atlantic edition of the London Daily Mail

The Atom Squatters

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Washington Notes

The Pearl Harbor Trial; Mr. Attlee's Visit

TWO POLICEMEN stand at the enormous doors of the Senate caucus room and let the spectators into the Pearl Harbor investigation, a few at a time. The great room is jammed. Motion-picture cameras whir. Squatting cameramen snap witnesses and then snap congressmen barking angry questions at them. Amplifiers carry the voices around the reverberating chamber.

The minute you enter, you sense the air of suspicion, suspense, tension. Somebody is shouting at the head table where the mingled Senators and Representatives sit, Republicans and Democrats scrambled together. It is Representative Gearhart of California, a Republican who sees a Roosevelt plot even in the fact that the admiral who is testifying doesn't know the name of the man who wrote an article about Pearl Harbor in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

At a side table sits counsel, quiet, composed William D. Mitchell, one of the ablest and least political-minded Attorney Generals—a Democrat who served under Coolidge and Hoover. He has little to do, little to say. The Republicans are the prosecution, they are like Martin Dies hunting for Communists; they provoke the Democrats, in sheer exasperation, to defend the witnesses; the whole situation is blanketed with partisanship.

It is the great political trial of our time, the symbol of the postwar mood of cynicism, disbelief and let-down. America was united on December 7, 1941, as she rarely has been in history; now "Pearl Harbor" represents the new mood of disillusionment.

Make no doubt of it, this is a trial of Roosevelt. Otherwise, all this hubbub would have no meaning. If this were just an effort to get at the facts of naval and military mismanagement at the start of a war which America did her full share in winning, this hearing would attract little attention. But the object of the inquiry is not merely to prove mismanagement. Listen to Gearhart's questions. The charge here is that the war was unnecessary; that if Hull and Roosevelt had only yielded and appeased, Japan would not have attacked. Nay, it goes further than that: Gearhart and others are attempting to show a deliberate plot, a plot to bait Pearl Harbor for a Japanese attack with the sacrifice of a semi-defenseless American fleet there. You have to see this show for yourself to believe it, but that is the real charge. Pearl Harbor has been a great symbol of revenge and unity. Now it is a great symbol of disillusionment.

Clement Attlee has come and gone. On his momentous visit he made a deft and courageous exposition of Labor Party aims to a joint session of Congress, watched the announcement on Palestine, helped prepare a three-power statement on the atomic bomb that didn't settle anything, participated behind the scenes in a sudden crisis over the proposed American loan to Britain, made stronger personal ties with Truman and other high officials, and engaged in a rather unsatisfactory off-the-record press-conference luncheon for the combined Washington press.

All my sympathy and support goes to Attlee, but, frankly, I found him personally disappointing. He was at his best in his measured, dignified address to Congress, where he said unflinchingly that Britain proposes to plan her economy, give jobs to the unemployed, have the state take over mighty monopolies. That was a great scene, no doubt of it—the little, bald, moustached man telling these things to a reactionary Congress that has bottled up the full-employment bill and even defies mildly liberal Truman by trying to turn the Federal Employment Service back to the states.

Somehow, the joint statement on atomic power reminded me of Mr. Truman's recent statement on the domestic wage-price relationship. The generalities sounded well, but for anybody who wanted a clear, positive enunciation of policy on a great issue, it was a very modest advance indeed. Once more, everything is left up to Russia.

But to come back to Mr. Attlee. He was unsatisfactory only in the sense that he revealed to a curious and not unsympathetic American audience what British Labor publicists mean when they say that, as Prime Minister, he is a political compromise between the force of two other far more colorful and dynamic, but rival, figures—Bevin and Morrison. Attlee never said the wrong thing in Washington, but he sometimes missed wonderful opportunities to say the right one. This was most conspicuous at the off-the-record luncheon with the press, where he was given the perfect opportunity to make an informal exposition of British views. In similar circumstances some years back, Churchill carried all before him and did his country great benefit. Mr. Attlee chose to handle the matter timidly, as though he were being examined at a House of Commons question time by hostile Tories. He didn't rise to the occasion, and it was too bad.

Incidentally, though it isn't generally known, a crisis came in the loan negotiations while Attlee was here. America finally put her offer into writing last week and presented it to Britain; the British read the terms, were aghast, and rejected them. It looked as if the whole thing were off. But then the Clayton-Byrnes-Vinson team decided to reconsider, and at this moment of writing, optimism is once again seeping out through the cracks.

Notes.—Quietly but firmly, Big Business is resisting Truman's pay-price formula, that higher wages can come out of profits; even if the current labor-management conference is a success, it is hard to see how the Administration can duck this defiance. US Steel, for instance, has twice told workers: "No price increases, no wage increases." . . . Wall Street thinks it's inflation: stocks made new 14-year highs last week; also there's evidence that reconversion is going better than expected. Far less unemployment has developed to date than dour prophets forecast. . . . Historians here are ironically recalling that when New Zealand went Socialist, the then conservative Bank of England imposed harsh credit terms, just as America now threatens to do on England. . . . A postcard ballot among readers conducted by *Modern Industry*, business magazine, revealed 57.9 percent against the Ball-Burton-Hatch labor bill.

Washington T. R. B.

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Plays and Plays

The Rich Full Life, by Vina Delmar. Golden Theatre, November 9, 1945.
The Rugged Path, by Robert E. Sherwood. Plymouth Theatre, November 10, 1945.
State of the Union, by Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse. Fulton Theatre, November 14, 1945.

"THE RICH FULL LIFE" is an unambitious play that will please no small number of people. It tells the story—ironically implied in the title—of a young girl who is the family invalid, their pet invalid, whom everybody is lovingly concerned to keep so. Her mother smuggles her off to a dance, she promptly gets pneumonia, is brought out of it finally by a visit from the beau who had escorted her to the fatal occasion, and so it all ends in healing laughter. The young girl is well enough done by Miss Virginia Weidler. Miss Judith Evelyn, whose performance in "Angel Street" is so well remembered, plays the mother with genuine talent, an admirable intensity of approach and a good technical range.

The reports of Mr. Robert Sherwood's new play seem to have been bad for some time now, long before it got to town. For several scenes I thought it was going quite well. Certainly there was a good deal of expert theatre writing; the hand of a practised writer for the theatre was more than evident. A young woman has married a protégé of her father, the great founder of a newspaper. After a roving life as a correspondent abroad, he has come home to report to the President and by the time the next scene arrives is settled into a handsome suburban house and is back as editor of the paper. Her brother owns and directs the paper, though he would prefer a bank, where things are constant and you know what you are to do. He is torn between his brother-in-law's influence and the pressure of the business promoter of the paper, an impenetrable pusher. An article on Russia leads to a rupture in which a young Jewish editorial writer is dismissed and the brother-in-law editor resigns. One joins the Marines, one the Navy, where his age settles him into a cook's job. The point here is that both men want to take a genuine part in life and the war, not be writing on the sidelines. The other theme is that the wife feels that she has lost her husband's interest and love, though she had hoped that having a home at last would bring him back to her and to a settled life.

So far, so good. I found the play up to then fairly entertaining, the scenes well taken hold of and adept, though not really important, dramatic writing. There was enough stagecraft and enough veneer of thought, so to speak, to keep things going, and the casting and acting were excellent. Miss Martha Sleeper as the wife gave an intelligent and convincing performance, a little brittle and monotonous, but right enough. Her main shortcoming is her voice, which needs sadly a veritable steel-wool of smoothing down and then an opening up for greater flexibility.

The second half of Mr. Sherwood's play is for the most part beneath contempt. We find that the first half, therefore, was not so good as we thought, because this second part does not proceed from it, except as a mild war fable. So then we are on a ship, Mr Spencer Tracy is cooking—he does the scene well—the ship sinks, he floats on a raft to an island where an American garrison is holding out, he gets an assignment to help land supplies on Banana Beach and evidently is killed heroically, for in the last short scene a medal is given by the President to his family. Mr. Tracy has made a final speech to the pseudo-Filipinos just before his last curtain, under lovely banana leaves that look like glass and need only a guitar to complete them, and so all ends in a noble, matinee fatuity. Faith, democracy, America and fuddled Washington clichés. If this is the kind of stuff the OWI—sometimes with Mr. Sherwood's help—spread abroad, no wonder people in Europe just now despise us. Mr. Jo Mielziner's settings were ingenious and effective. Mr. Tracy, in a very poorly written part, taking it as a whole, throughout the play did good work and delivered with sporting fortitude things that at times must have made him sick.

What a pleasure and honor and enthusiasm to leave this marathon of tricky banality and come to a brave, open and cavorting piece of theatre writing like "State of the Union," by Messrs. Lindsay and Crouse, still shining from their constellations in "Arsenic and Old Lace" and "Life with Father"! The story deals with a top-flight automobile manufacturer who seems a likely figure for the Republican nomination, if they can whip him into line. His first dreams were of honesty and high dealing, but he has, of course, trimmed some corners. One of the corners is an affair with a divorcée who owns a chain of Republican newspapers. His wife still loves him but they have drifted far apart. The struggle is between what she wants him to return to within himself and what the political bosses and the tycoons want to make of him. In the end the two of them come together again and he will fight the fight his own way. We are left with the feeling that the people may turn to him to such an extent that the Republican bosses will need him more than he needs them, and that the White House may be the final stopping place, and meanwhile the human rightness.

It is a shame to make such a play sound so banal. There is a remarkable amount of political content involved in "State of the Union," genuine thrusts and insights and allusions plain to all. The characters are every one well written (and well cast). An unflagging energy of detail marks the movement of the scenes. A delightful good health, genuine and full of good sense, pervades the whole play. There are ideas constantly implied, but no clichés. There is no imitation of Continental gloom, for the real sources of this play go back to the first years when America was settled. Behind the whole of the story is the theme that Americans want better things than the politicians in their cynicism think they want; that the motives on which these leaders play are far below the deepest motives in our country. When I put it like that it sounds boring, like a softly syndicated column or radio commentators, bridegrooms of hollow honeymoons in history. But when this idea is distributed, created into characters, acts, humor, lively projection, it becomes quite another thing. It would be more becoming of me, perhaps, to stop talking and merely say that "State of the Union" is unbrokenly entertaining, stirring, virile and a credit to our theatre and all of us.

Mr. Ralph Bellamy as the magnate going into public life, et cetera, plays most competently. It is not a compulsive portrayal, but it is convincing enough for the story, and I cannot think of any other actor who would suit the part as well. Miss Ruth Hussey as the wife has one of the best

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written roles in many seasons, a quite dazzlingly rich part in fact. She looks beautiful, as the character is supposed to look, she plays with alertness and wit, manages some very good transitions in feeling and motifs, and persuades you of the truth of the scenes one after another. Mr. Minor Watson is excellent as the political boss, Mr. Myron McCormick, as the fixer, or whatever this sort of press type is called, plays with his usual alertness and click—good acting. And Mr. G. Albert Smith as the Southern judge and Miss Maidel Turner as his wife, with her heart full of sazaracs, are enchanting creatures and really Southern—the players in "Deep Are the Roots" should go to see them.

Mr. Bretaigne Windust's directing and Mr. Raymond Sovey's settings are admirable. The play at present runs somewhat too long; perhaps the scene of the interviews in Detroit could be shortened to that end. But the playwrights who could write this play will know better than anybody else where it can be cut a bit. STARK YOUNG

My Cousin and the Japs

I HAVE A COUSIN who is a river pilot steering freighters from New Orleans to Pilottown, where the bar pilots take them over for the 20-mile trip through the jetties and out to sea. These pilot associations are sort of closed corporations, much like the old medieval guilds, with memberships handed down from father to son, or otherwise kept in the family. It takes a river pilot about six years of riding on the freighters before he becomes a full-fledged member and draws his share of the profits of this tight little monopoly.

My cousin, a wonderful fellow but no humorist, tells a story about an experience with a Japanese captain which always makes him laugh, though the incident happened long ago. It illustrates some of the amazing tricks which the canny old pilots used to take a huge ship through ninety miles of narrow-river channel, sometimes in fog and utter darkness. On such nights most of their judgments of distance are made by means of the whistle echoes from woods ashore.

The Japanese captains were always anxious to learn these tricks, and the pilots suspected they hurried right to their cabins and wrote them to whatever department it was in the Japanese navy that was supposed to take charge of Mississippi River shipping when the day came.

During the fifteen hours or so that the pilot was aboard, he was captain of the ship, was addressed as captain, and gave the orders. On some ships the regular captains used the time to catch up with their sleeping or their swindle-sheets. But not the Japs. The little captain of a Jap ship stood at the pilot's side constantly, asking him why he did so and so, and how he knew the river channel turned at just such a point, etc.

One night in a heavy fog, the pilot's ship came to a stretch of the river, several miles long and without bends, and surrounded by swamps on both sides which had a peculiar significance in his pilot's mentality. How they knew when they came to the various bends and stretches I do not know, but they seemed to sense it.

The pilot knew that he was proceeding along this peculiar stretch of the river, however, even though the banks were closed in by fog. He reached up to the whistle cord and blew a short blast and then listened for a moment in silence. Finally, I suppose, he said uh-huh to himself, with an expression of satisfaction, for that was his manner; then he turned to the Jap quartermaster at the wheel and gave an order altering the course.

The little Jap captain was all curiosity now.

"Why you change course, Peelot?" he asked.

"We are too close to the starboard bank," my cousin replied.

"How you know?"

"Well now, I'll tell you. There are swamps on both sides of the river along this stretch and they come right up to the bank. But there aren't any woods or elevations to make an echo. So we have to use the frogs. The frogs sit up on the lily pads and they jump off when we blast the whistle. They make a little plunk that carries pretty well. If we are too close to starboard, we hear them plunk on the starboard bank; if we hear them plunk on the port, we are too close to port. If we don't hear them at all we are out in the river and everything is fine. I just heard them to starboard, but a good ways off, so I changed the course by a little."

The Jap captain grew instantly angry.

"I ask serious question, make fool of Japanese captain." And with that he turned and stormed off to his cabin.

"All I did was tell the man the truth," my cousin used to say, always laughing, because it was the funniest story he knew, and almost the only one. THOMAS SANCTON

The Bandwagon

Vivian [Governor John C. Vivian of Colorado] said a trip to the South had convinced him Southern Democrats want a "Moses to lead them out of the bullrushes." Republicans must supply this Moses in the 1948 elections, he said. – *From the Salem* (*Oregon*) Capital Journal.

The ultimatum, issued by Major General E. C. Mansergh, Allied commander in eastern Java, said that "this is not an attack on the liberties of the Indonesian people" or an attempt to settle their political future by force, but "it is the extremists in Soerabaja who are guilty, and it is the guilty who must suffer." – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

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(J-NR)

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power. This gold is a symbol of the fineness of this soap. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Perish-Forbid Department

Mr. Justice Broome said that the first aim of the screen was to amuse, and without cinemas millions of peoples would be left without any alternative but to spend their evenings at home. – *From the Natal, South Africa,* Daily News.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Military Training in the Light of the A-Bomb

SIR: Mr. Denis Plimmer's analysis of General Marshall's report (the *New Republic*, October 29) is, as a whole, well considered. However, I must take exception to his inference that the Chief of Staff's plan for the prompt establishment of a standing army of four million men has been outdated by the potentials of atomic power.

So far as is known, no nation besides the United States, Britain and Canada is in possession of the "secret" of the structural details of the Bomb. It is understood that the chances are even, or better, that further development of atomic energy is likely to be more advanced in the United States than in any other country for several years to come.

I submit, therefore, that General Marshall's proposal is eminently sound and justified, except that, in my opinion, a way should be immediately prepared for mobilization within 30 days rather than within 12 months. I submit that every able-bodied American youth between 16 and 20 should be trained for military service in one branch or another and be ready to report for duty with his designated unit within a week.

Conceding that the arrival of atomic power in our midst will necessitate the scientific remodeling and reorganization of our armed forces, and very soon, we can make no mistake by training our manhood in the principles of discipline, fortitude and courage and in the elements of modern scientific warfare.

R. A. DUCKWORTH-FORD (Colonel PC, Ret.)

Chula Vista, Calif.

Clothes for the Spanish Refugees

SIR: France faces another winter like the last, which was the worst in its history. The problem of clothing, food, fuel and shelter will again be very acute. But it will be even worse for the 150,000 Spanish Republican refugees in France. They have known little except undernourishment, privation and war since 1936. Their physical condition, after three years of civil war in Spain and five years of concentration camps and imprisonment in France, is far below normal. Unless help is immediately forthcoming, the mortality rate among the Spaniards this winter may well be higher because of their weakened resistance.

We started a clothing campaign on November 12, to extend through December. Warm clothing for these men, women and children who are exiled from their native land is essential for their survival. The Unitarian Service Committee will distribute in France all clothing we send there. Clothing should be sent to the Spanish Refugee Appeal Warehouse, 715 Second Avenue, New York 16.

DOROTHY PARKER, Acting Chairman,
Spanish Refugee Appeal

New York City

Socially Conscious Scientists

SIR: The article, "Congress Grapples with Science," by Morris Llewellyn Cooke (the *New Republic*, October 1), says that "The scientists, with very few exceptions, feel no responsibility whatever for the life of the community—" and that, "With peace the dominant concern of mankind, no scientific organization was represented at San Francisco, and among 400 consultants and advisers to our government there was not one scientist. Possibly because of this, science and engineering were all but ignored in plans for the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations."

Just by a hair, the National Technical Association, a 17-year-old organization of several hundred Negro engineers, architects and technicians, with 15 chapters in the United States, might fall in Mr. Cooke's "very few exceptions." Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, a United States consultant to the San Francisco Conference, did request of the NTA a statement on postwar plans for his official use. This request was duly granted. The NTA does, however, plead guilty to some of the sins of omission mentioned above.

CHARLES S. DUKE

Washington, D. C.

Veterans' Transportation

SIR: Pronouncements of the President and the Generals tend to make the public believe that soldiers are being transformed into civilians with the magic touch of a Superman. Many pieces have been written about the 48-hour processing at separation centers. Once placed on a roster, servicemen become civilians in two days' time. But the services fail miserably in sending the new civilians home. Transportation arrangements for those separated from the forces are administered with the inefficiency and muddling that have characterized this branch of the service since V-J Day. No difficulty was found moving men during the war.

Railroads must prefer to sell tickets and Pullman space to permanent civilians, for civilians get preferential treatment. Being in uniform is a handicap in buying sleeper accommodations cross-country.

I was discharged three weeks ago from Hamilton Field, California. Other men, released at about the same time, are still sitting at the Field, waiting for the Army to arrange transportation east of San Francisco. A recent letter from one of them tells he expects to wait two weeks more. Five weeks after discharge before he can go home!

HENRY PARSONS

New York City

From The New Republic Mail Bag

An Army lieutenant writes from Kent, Connecticut, that the Army action ordering Negro troops to unload the *Queen Elizabeth* during the dock-workers' strike was not, as Albon Man suggested (correspondence, the *New Republic*, November 5), related to the problem of racial antagonism, but was merely dictated by the necessity to move ships for troop transport.

The Committee of Catholics for Human Rights announces the inauguration of the Mgr. John A. Ryan Award, to be presented annually to the Catholic clergyman and layman who have done the most to further inter-racial amity and human rights in America. New York City readers may be interested in attending a dinner at the Hotel Roosevelt on November 28, at which The Most Reverend Bernard J. Shiel, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, and Philip Murray, president of the CIO, the first recipients of the awards, will be honored. Further information may be obtained from the Committee at 1775 Broadway, New York 19.

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Books in Review

J. B. Powell's China

MANY YEARS AGO this reviewer heard an old scholar from India say that America returned her share of the Boxer Idemnity to China in order to educate a class of Chinese who would "wag their tails, beat the drums, and speak English" in defense of American business interests in China.

In many ways, Mr. John B. Powell's book[1], *My Twenty-five Years in China*, which includes a defense of everything the Kuomintang dictatorship stands for, seems to bear out this analysis. On page 140, after interpreting the Chinese revolution from the Kuomintang viewpoint, Mr. Powell makes the following appeal to American chauvinism:

> No Chinese student of any American university, to the writer's knowledge, ever joined the Chinese Communist faction. Thousands of American-returned students are members of the Kuomintang.

Were this statement wholly true, no greater condemnation of the American educational system could be found anywhere. Yet, like countless statements in this book, it is not true. Instead, large numbers of Chinese Communists are graduates of American universities in the United States or China—Lo Fu, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communists, and the two secretaries of the Chinese Communist delegate to the San Francisco Conference, to name three.

True it is, however, that large numbers of Kuomintang members, including some of its highest (and most fascist-minded) leaders, are American products. Mr. Chen Li-fu, Kuomintang-party boss and a fascist of the deepest hue, is not only one such, but Fordham University conferred an honorary degree on him last year. Mr. Chen, I believe, is not even a Christian.

While the Kuomintang is full of American-educated men, still more of its members are Japanese products, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek being Exhibit A. Nor has American education resulted in democracy in China. On the contrary, most Chinese laws, as also the Kuomintang-prepared Constitution, are patterned after Japanese laws and the Japanese Constitution of 1889. And the Japanese Constitution, like Japanese laws and the army, were in turn fashioned on Bismarck's Prussia.

In all his years in China, Mr. Powell reflected a modified form of the treaty-port mentality. Instead of supporting the old warlords, after 1927 he placed all his eggs in Chiang's basket. From 1922 until Pearl Harbor, he was owner and editor of the *China Weekly Review* which, like Mark Twain's innocence, was progressive in spots. He met the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but, like most foreigners, branded as "Red" the national revolutionary movement which Dr. Sun, aided by invited Soviet Russian advisers, organized and unleashed against the warlords and foreign imperialism—British imperialism in particular.

Before Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'état in 1927, which overthrew the Hankow National Government and established the Nanking government, Mr. Powell regarded the Generalissimo as the great Yellow Hope. From 1927 until today, the Generalissimo remains for him that Hope, to be supported by any and every means. All who oppose Chiang are called "Reds," and nowhere in his book does he even mention the Chinese Democratic League of professional men and women, though some of its constituent groups were formed next door to him in Shanghai before the war.

Despite Mr. Powell's complete lack of first-hand knowledge of the Chinese people, or of the vast peasant revolution of which the Chinese Communist-commanded armies are the military spearhead, there are sections of his book that are eminently worth reading. From 1931 onward he stood like the rock of ages against Japanese imperialism, exposing its machinations and atrocities and its plans for world conquest. He stood at the top of every Japanese or puppet black list, and after Pearl Harbor was imprisoned under such atrocious conditions in a Japanese prison in Shanghai that all but the heels of his feet eventually had to be amputated. Unlike some other Americans, he never betrayed the Chinese nation or his own country by turning propagandist for the Japanese or their German and Italian allies. In fact, he exposes many of the foreigners, including Americans, who aided the Japanese and Nazis either directly or indirectly.

Nor did Mr. Powell hesitate to condemn the sale of American scrap-iron to Japan, nor our more significant policy toward Japan during World War I. On November 1, 1917, for example, he writes of the arrival of Baron Ishii in Washington to obtain American approval for Japan's "special position" in Manchuria and Shantung Province. Failing in Washington, the astute Baron went directly to the seat of power—to "a certain powerful financial leader" in New York, who merely *telephoned* the White House, which in turn instructed Secretary of State Lansing, who in turn signed on the dotted line which the Japanese Baron indicated. This "Lansing-Ishii Incident" should provide the American public with a similar key for understanding our present policy in China. Secretary of State Byrnes has even admitted that he was not consulted about our policy. President Truman may not have been consulted either.

None of these courageous and factual chapters, however, can excuse the distortions and false statements about the Chinese revolution which Mr. Powell makes elsewhere. These would require many pages to list. Here are a few:

1. Communists "within the nationalist army" were responsible for attacks on foreigners in 1927 in Nanking.

2. Chiang Kai-shek had nothing to do with the massacre of 5,000 Chinese workers and students in Shanghai in April, 1927.

3. Mao Tze-tung and Chu Teh, Communist leaders, were both "trained in Moscow under Trotsky and Radek." (Mao

[1] My Twenty-five Years in China, by John B. Powell. New York: The Macmillan Company. 436 pages. $3.50.

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Tze-tung has never been outside China, and Chu Teh was educated in Germany, not in Russia.)

4. Po Ku (erroneously called Pao Ku) is a "mystery man" and "head of the Red secret police." (Po Ku is a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, was never head of any secret police, and the only mystery about him is his gawkiness and his inability to sing or dance.)

5. During the Sian incident, an "American woman leftist" arrived in Sian and was utilized by the Reds to deliver speeches over the Communist radio station; and "Mao Tze-tung, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and other Communists went to Sian to confer with her." (Since this refers to this reviewer, it can be branded for what it is: a wild and woolly fairy tale. Mao Tze-tung and Chu Teh have never set foot in Sian, either in 1936 or later. Nor had this "American woman leftist" any power whatever to "confer" with them on any subject whatever. There was no "Communist radio station" in existence in 1936-37 and I never delivered a broadcast speech in Chinese in my life. The true story of the Sian Incident and of my part in it, is related in *The Battle Hymn of China*, a copy of which I sent Mr. Powell when it appeared and which he could have consulted had he desired the facts. Or he could have consulted with me personally at any time had he wished to write facts instead of prejudiced fantasy.)

Americans will honor Mr. Powell for his stand against the Japanese. But when it comes to internal Chinese affairs, history has by-passed him.

AGNES SMEDLEY

Special Pleader

Wartime Mission in Spain, by Carlton J. H. Hayes. New York: The Macmillan Company. 313 pages. $3.

As a historian, Professor Hayes wrote well. As a belligerently defensive apologist for some questionable history of his own making, he writes badly. The title of his curiously confused, never dispassionate book implies an admission—his successful mission was a personal failure. For he realizes that to the future peacetime relations between the United States and Spain his mission contributed less than nothing. Hayes's specific wartime assignment was to keep Spain out of the war and to maintain friendly relations with its government. The American government gave him *carte blanche*. Although at one point—a rare flash of modesty—he calls himself "merely an agent" of American policy, he makes abundantly clear that his conception of implementation of policy was, in fact, making policy.

Did Hayes succeed in his mission? To what extent was the success personal? Except for the Blue Division, Spain's military forces did not participate directly in the war. But what Hayes calls Spain's "semi-belligerency against Russia" pinned down United Nations military forces. The possibility, which Hayes never succeeded in eliminating altogether, of Spain's direct military aid to the Axis, remained a factor of strategic importance until the final phase of the European war. Knowing that Franco neither could nor even wanted to fight openly, Hayes nevertheless went out of his way to yield to rather than try to diminish Franco's blackmail. But there is more to modern total war than military combat. Hayes insisted, against the evidence, on seeing Franco's attitude toward the Axis as reluctant appeasement. "Actually the appeasement involved giving the Axis many words and a few deeds." A few deeds! The

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Professor protests: "the quantity and variety" of Spain's contribution to the Axis war effort "have been greatly exaggerated." It was not until October, 1943, that Hayes learned that "what the Germans as well as the Italians did on Spanish soil against Allied military and naval operations outside . . . was not a pretty picture." This, and a brief mention of his discovery in January, 1944, of extraordinarily valuable Spanish economic and financial contributions to the Axis cause, are his only references to Spain's "few deeds." It took a long time for the American Ambassador in Madrid to find out a tiny fraction of what American public opinion had long known. And although he tries ineffectually to claim the personal credit, it was the evolution of military developments and the fact that Nazi "diplomacy" was, as usual, even more inept than ours, that slowly and tardily tilted the balance of Spain's covert belligerency in our favor.

Hayes is bitter about public opinion. He often refers to it, usually in quotation marks disparagingly, invariably with dishonest appraisal of its extent, nature and intentions. "Certain journalists and radio commentators in the United States . . . noisy sensationalists . . . those who had long been more concerned with waging civil war in Spain (from a safe distance) than with fighting Germany . . . spread highly imaginative propagandist stories about Spain's supplying Germany . . . demanded that the United States should instantly break off all relations with the Spanish government . . . leaving the country to the Axis." Public opinion of the people in Spain was beneath the Professor's notice. He kept on telling the State Department that a new embassy building for elaborate social functions would provide "better and more enduring propaganda" than "spending millions on high-pressure salesmanship of ephemeral propagandist news sheets." Public opinion in the United States was "throughout my entire sojourn in Spain" the great enemy in the Ambassador's personal *Kampf*. While dealing with the Spanish government, "simultaneously we had to contend with flanking movements in the British Embassy and with sniping and sharp-shooting from the rear."

Those who saw both Carlton Hayes and Sir Samuel Hoare in action—I was on official mission in Spain in 1943 and 1944—knew that the American's envy and resentment of the Briton almost equaled his vanity and ambassadorial despotism. It was Sir Samuel and the British who started the economic warfare in which our most conspicuous successes were scored. It was the Briton's aristocratic connections, his "deserved reputation" as a sportsman, which achieved the social successes for which the American schoolmaster yearned. His courtship of Spanish grandees, born or self-made, for whom his affection reminds one of Ambassador Robert Murphy's similar tastes, led him to extremes. He kept, not only from his Spanish friends but also from the staff of his own embassy, President Roosevelt's and Secretary Hull's public critical comments on the policy of Franco. He ordered deleted from the sad, scanty, ineffectual American "propaganda" such unpleasant facts as that Americans consider "all religions equal."

Of course, the simple fact is that Professor Hayes likes the present Spanish government. His so-called non-interference amounted to at least unconscious interference on its behalf "beyond the call of duty." The concluding dozen

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pages of his book transform his frequently un-frank personal apologia into a frank apologia for Franco Spain. His samplings of Spanish "public opinion" reveal his own opinions—an "almost universal fear of communism which amounted to an obsession." Senor Lequerica is quoted as believing that "in the last analysis" the form of government is of "secondary significance" to those who want to avoid "foolish and dangerous paths." And Franco himself told Hayes where the danger now lies. "He distinguished between the 'disciplined' popular communism within Russia and a 'revolutionary' communism of minorities in other countries of Europe. The former, he said, was constructive; the latter destructive." Woe unto our relations with Spain and the "other countries of Europe" whose conceptions of social discipline are different from those that Professor Hayes has dug up out of the history of the Middle Ages, if we continue in the "foolish and dangerous path" of appointing men like him to represent our democracy.

PERCY WINNER

A Hayek of Science

Science and the Planned State, by John R. Baker. New York: The Macmillan Company. 116 pages. $1.75.

THIS BOOK warns against a rising threat to the future of world science. According to its author, a group of British scientists, beguiled by the Soviet Union, is cleverly propagandizing for state control of scientific research as a preliminary to central planning of all departments of life.

Dr. Baker, lecturer in zoölogy at Oxford University, unfolds the sinister plot. In 1931, at a meeting in London of an International Congress on the History of Science, Hessen, a member of the Russian delegation, read a paper stressing the interrelations of the material needs of society and the science which emerges at any particular time. Hessen said that many of Newton's discoveries, for example, were intimately bound up with England's need for improved methods of marine transportation to exploit new colonies. This demanded investigations into such problems as accurate time-telling, latitude, longitude and the cause of tides. This led Newton to a more thorough study of the movements of the heavenly bodies, which culminated in his discovery of the law of universal gravitation.

Two years after the London meeting, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, according to Baker, shrewdly diverted the attention of scientists from strictly scientific problems to social and economic questions. Three years later the economist, Sir Josiah Stamp, gave the presidential address to the British Association and recommended "wise central direction" in the allocation of scientific workers to specific research tasks. The magazine *Nature* followed this lead, and in 1938 the British Association formed a Division for the Social and International Relations of Science. The economic consequences of the advances of science were declared to be part of the business of science. British scientists pointed out that the detached attitude of scientists was dangerous. They added that as citizen-scientists they had special social responsibilities. These included help in the formulation of policies governing the use of their discoveries toward the betterment of mankind. Since freedom of the

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scientist to think and work is closely associated with the freedom of all the peoples of the earth, they insisted on fighting poverty, reaction and fascism both at home and abroad. Baker is very much frightened by this new movement. He distrusts its leaders—especially J. G. Crowther and J. D. Bernal. He appeals to scientists "to use their influence against the idea that the interests of the common man are paramount."

Is there any justification for Baker's fears? With regard to the alleged objective of the plotters to establish a totalitarian government, Baker seems to offer a personal state of mind rather than cogent facts. In warning against the danger of their first objective for state-controlled scientific research planning, the zoölogist points to the abyss of materialism and slavery to which such a program would inevitably lead. He cites the example of the Soviet Union, where, according to the author, there is little freedom of thought or of action among its scientists. Science is stifled or completely destroyed when it comes into conflict with the ideological tenets of the Marxists. Baker recalls the famous genetics controversy in Russia a few years back when Mendelism clashed with Marxism. Lysenko, president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and vice-president of the Supreme Council, stressed the effect of environment (inheritance of acquired characters), and made it virtually impossible for men like Vavilov to continue their researches in heredity based on the laws of Mendel.

The eminent biologist, Julian Huxley, bluntly disagrees with Baker's accusation. Returning from an international science celebration in Moscow three months ago, Huxley reported:

> It has been stated that scientific views in Russia are dictated by Marxist orthodoxy or have to adjust themselves to political pressure. This is certainly not usually the case. Thus in biology, Lysenko has been advancing revolutionary theories as to heredity. In spite of his position and of his bitter opposition to Mendelian theories of heredity, evolutionary studies continue to flourish. The Russians were attacking the problem of evolution along lines very similar to those that we and the Americans have been independently pursuing during the war.

Baker says that central planning kills pure research, and that over-all planning is essentially part of the totalitarian theory of the state. Huxley, in the above report, again contradicts, with the assertion that, "In spite of the claims of war, Russian scientists in most fields seem to have been able to continue with more pure research than have their colleagues in Britain and America." Baker is apparently also unaware of the accelerated trend in democratic countries toward greater government aid to research and more cooperative planning by engineering and scientific leaders. He wrote his book before the atomic bomb drew aside the curtain of the boldest and most stupendous piece of coördinated research ever attempted by man. He wrote it before the Bush report, *Science, the Endless Frontier*, recommended half a billion dollars of federal aid during the next ten years for a carefully planned program of research. The Bush report has been discussed before a Senate committee by our most eminent scientists. All of them advocate very generous federal aid to research. They differ principally in the membership of the proposed National Research Foundation, in the degree of patent control and in the type of planning em-

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BERNARD JAFFE

The Menace to Democracy

Private Monopoly, by David Lasser. New York: Harper and Brothers. 306 pages. $3.

THIS IS quite the most readable study I have seen of private monopoly and its impact on society. It leans heavily on secondary sources and little of its information is new to readers of *PM* and the progressive journals. However, it is an excellent synthesis of everything worth-while that has been said on this crucial subject. Lasser has scholarship and keen insight; his book is a real contribution in its field.

Lasser examines the roots and historical development of private monopoly in the important areas of the world. He traces in each substantially the same pattern: a self-accelerating growth of big business and finance-control up to the point where, because of relentless economic laws, this growth comes smack into conflict with the democratic requirements of the people. The laws of dynamics that govern monopolistic accretion are such that big business cannot satisfy those requirements and at the same time extend (or even hold) its own gains. There arises a conflict which thus far has failed of solution. The monopolists have tried to bypass this conflict by imperialist adventures or to liquidate it by Nazi-fascist ferments and wars. But to no avail—the hard core of the problem remains and continues to assert itself in recurring social crises and new wars. Lasser, by citing chapter and verse, shows that, given the policies of monopoly throughout the world, the sequence of events leading to Hitlerism and the recent war was inevitable. It would only belabor the obvious to point out the threat of a new war unless the root causes of the problem are successfully attacked.

Thus far in his analysis (and the above is a crude oversimplification of the author's extended treatment of an involved subject) Lasser's position is at one with the doctrinaire Marxist-Leninist interpretation of monopoly. At this point, however, they part company. The Marxists maintain that nothing short of a revolutionary upturn can provide the remedy. Lasser does not agree. A dynamic democracy which will "speedily free men from unemployment, poverty and insecurity and realize the economic possibilities of our twentieth-century world; give the people control over their own destiny and not only free them from the menace of economic monopoly but also harness this power to the common welfare; establish international unity, abolish war and solve the problem of international trade"—such a democracy can win in competition with both monopoly and communism.

Lasser suggests a concrete program to implement these aims. They are, first, an Economic Bill of Rights which will write into law the perspectives of full employment, full pro-

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duction, security and high living standards. (Immediate requirements here are passage of the various bills, such as the full-employment bill, now in various stages of travail before Congress.) To emasculate monopoly and make our economic system work for the good of the people, "the bastions of monopoly—the great industries and financial institutions, the press and radio, the schools and the Army—must be democratized by bringing the organizations of the people into participation in their control." Similarly, he proposes people's political and economic parliaments to promote the free flow of international trade, hold in trust all patents, administer raw materials and colonies, press for disarmament and stop aggressors. Lasser rejects a pervading, centralized control over our economic lives by the state (as under socialism). The government will set the rules, but their enforcement will be solely in the hands of the representatives of the people—workers, farmers, businessmen, investors and consumers, teaming together democratically. Is Lasser's program realizable through the ballot? Unfortunately, that question, like capital punishment, is still pretty well confined to the sphere of sophomore debating contests. It is my opinion that a pre-condition is a quick settlement of the differences between the AFL and the CIO. There also is the PAC, the fillip to the progressive movement by the victory of the British Labor Party, and finally, the hope (a rather negative one) that the sheer movement by the victory of the British Labor Party and force the people to a greater awareness of their strength and its proper use. Whether or not we or our children will be around to taste of the fruits, Lasser's book most certainly points the way.

HARVEY J. BRESLER

Without Irony

The Song of Lazarus: Poems, by Alex Comfort. New York: The Viking Press. 190 pages. $1.75.

MR. COMFORT suffers from a kind of cosmic simple-mindedness: death and the hateful They comprise, corrupt and ultimately consume his vision. It is all so simple—no irony, no ambiguity, no counterpoint. Lazarus sings his songs, windily, and sinks back into his grave, lethargically, but who is to care, really? Mr. Comfort is young and romantical and tragical and oh so burdened with a High High Seriousness—and yet, it will not do: intentions simply cannot pass themselves off as achievements.

Of course, if Mr. Comfort were a great poet, if he could enchant, delight, dazzle or derange us, we would, willingly enough—if only for the transfigured moment—surrender to his vision. But his is at best a meager talent. He twangs, suffocatingly, the single string: Death, Death, Death; and whose fault is it but Mr. Comfort's if the poetry, by an ironically distorting echo, comes out Dead, Dead, Dead?

Let there be no misunderstanding: Death is a noble subject; next, I would say, to Life, the noblest subject for poetry. But it is all in the saying. One can say it simply, as Dorothy Baker has her character Smoke Johnson speak out in *Young Man with a Horn*:

. . . bent on philosophy [he] discussed death in its narrow aspect and in the large. The large he dealt with very soundly;

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American Economic Review: "Dr. Chamberlain's book is a valuable contribution to the better understanding of the techniques of negotiating collective agreements. . . . The book is well organized and clearly written. The exhaustive discussion of the process of negotiation, together with Dr. Chamberlain's criticism of existing practices, will certainly make useful reading not only for those who have only a limited knowledge of the technical questions involved, but also for those who have to solve the problems of collective bargaining in their daily work."

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death comes, he said, to all of us, to the powerful and to the powerless. Take for instance the richest man in the world, he's got to take it on the same basis as the mill hand. It comes one way or it comes another. What's the difference, maybe, how you die? Or when? In a hundred years who knows whether you got blasted coming out of a trench with an idea of killing some Germans for your country, or whether you sat it out in an electric chair for knifing somebody you wanted to knife. . . . He turned back fast to the case in point, to death in the narrow aspect. Here was George Ward dead, and for no reason. Twenty-one years old was all he was. If he could die like that so could anybody, Nathan could, Bud could, you could. A thing like that can make you distrustful, suspicious, of the ones you've got the most faith in. Gives you a morbid feeling about every living thing.

Now, as it happens, this is all that and exactly what Mr. Comfort is talking about. But Mr. Comfort is a poet, and calls on the resources of his craft—symbol, metaphor, rhythm—to elevate his statement. Unfortunately, in Mr. Comfort's tower of poetry, the elevators never go up; they don't even budge from the ground. His symbols are few, and he uses them doggedly, monotonously, to the wailing point. His rhythms are languid and exhortative, lacking variation, structureless, spineless, and with a disdain for form that would be more impressive if only the poems were not there to confront us with their failures. "I believe in winter, the season of ends," Mr. Comfort writes, exhorting our agreement. But why? One might as easily retort: "I believe in summer, the season of beginnings." That inexplicable transformation by which a poem becomes living and is ours, not anyone's else, here becomes a kind of paralysis: *consummatum non est.*

In fairness to Mr. Comfort, some mention must be made of the political poems which freckle his text unexpectedly, like hot springs bubbling up in a cemetery. They are bitter and cruel and informed with an anarchist's passion and, if one approaches them with a sympathy akin to Mr. Comfort, are no doubt moving. But even here Mr. Comfort forgets that by giving up irony one ends up simple-minded. His hatred of government is commendable, yet can we be sure that government is always They? Can we be quite so positive that They are the butchers and the beasts, never ourselves? Are we really as blameless as Mr. Comfort believes? We are each of us—and this is no *mystique*—the other. Even They, to lapse for a moment into the Comfort manner, are like ourselves made of membrane and bone, and Their women, when They die, go down to death breastless. But there is an irony here Mr. Comfort would not understand, for he is, I am afraid, a little smug, a little "closed," something of a prig. WILLIAM ABRAHAMS

A Reader's List

EVERYTHING IS QUITE ALL RIGHT, by Wendell Wilcox (Bernard Ackerman, $2.50). This first novel by a writer whose short stories have appeared in the *New Yorker* and *Harper's Bazaar* has been influenced, in substance rather more than in style, by the Gertrude Stein of *Three Lives.* The heroine, an outsized country girl who becomes a servant in a city that must be Chicago, is clearly related to several of Miss Stein's early characters. Mr. Wilcox, however, has at least the makings of a talent of his own. He can handle "simple" people without being patronizing, mawkish or eccentric, and he writes with uncommon preciseness and good taste. One of the opening scenes, in which a housewife tells how she fired a Negro maid, is so remarkably good that it overshadows everything that comes after. But there is evidence, all the way through, that Mr. Wilcox is out of the usual writer's class.

Crime and Punishment

METHINKS THE LADY . . . , by Guy Endore (Duell, $2.50). After eight years of marriage to the brilliant psychoanalyst Spence Gillian, his lovely young wife develops and acute Jekyll-and-Hyde complex. An act of kleptomania is followed by encephalitis, which leaves her with an alter-ego completely given over to evil. She confesses to a murder and her lawyers are putting their hopes in a plea of insanity, when Spence comes to the rescue in a clever dénouement. A curious—and sometimes absorbing—psychological study.

MURDER EXPERT, by Robert Portner Koehler (Phoenix, $2). Al Branson, captain of detectives on the Homicide Squad, and his wife Isabel, who has written up a few of his cases, are asked out to dinner to meet some leading detective-fiction authors. Of the guests, only Charles Fitzgerald specializes in actual cases—and he is murdered before the evening is over. The Bransons' skill in sifting the false clues gladly supplied by the professional suspects makes this a lively and ingenious job.

THE DEAD LIE STILL, by William L. Stuart (Farrar and Rinehart, $2). This is a mighty tough item about Sam Talbot, artist and ex-Navy Intelligence, and how he tangles with a bunch of Japanese agents the FBI is trying to round up. Sam proves a likable and very knowing sleuth, and Mr. Stuart's first novel marks him as a man to watch. Fast, furious and not for the queasy. E. H.

Other Contributors to This Issue

THOMAS SANCTON, a contributing editor of the *New Republic,* is a native of New Orleans and now lives in Mississippi. His sketch in this issue is reprinted by courtesy of the Pascagoula, Mississippi, *Chronicle-Star.*

AGNES SMEDLEY spent 12 years in China as a correspondent and author. Her most recent book is *Battle Hymn of China,* published by Alfred A. Knopf.

PERCY WINNER spent 14 years in Western Europe as a foreign correspondent, half of them in Italy and Germany under fascism, and was for three years an OWI Deputy Director for Field Operations. He is a frequent contributor to the *New Republic.*

BERNARD JAFFE heads the Physical Science Department in New York City's James Madison High School. He wrote *Crucibles,* which won the Francis Bacon Award in 1930, *Outposts of Science* in 1935 and *Men of Science in America,* published last year by Simon and Schuster.

HARVEY J. BRESLER, director of organization and finance for the American Jewish Congress, has contributed to the New York *Times Book Review,* the *Political Science Quarterly* and other publications.

WILLIAM ABRAHAMS is a sergeant in the Army and at present a patient at a general hospital. His first novel, *Interval in Carolina,* was published this fall by Simon and Schuster, and he is now preparing a collection of his poems for publication and working on a new novel.

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